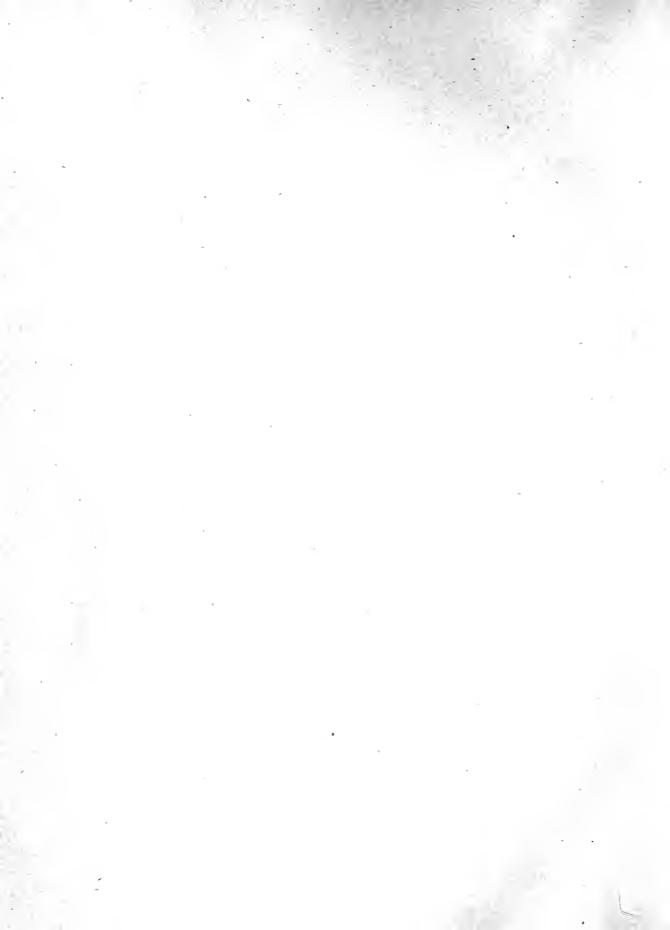


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MEDALLIC HISTORY

IMPERIAL ROME;

From the FIRST TRIUMVIRATE,

UNDER POMPEY, CRASSUS, AND CÆSAR.

To the Removal of the IMPERIAL SEAT,

BY CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

WITHTHE

SEVERAL MEDALS AND COINS,

ACCURATELY COPIED AND CURIOUSLY ENGRAVEN.

To which is prefixed, an Introduction, containing

A GENERAL HISTORY OF ROMAN MEDALS.

IN TWO VOLUMES. VOL. I.

By WILLIAM COOKE, M.A.

Vicar of Enford in Wiltshire, and Rector of Oldbury and Didmarton, in Gloucestershire,

The Medal, faithful to its Charge of Fame, Through Climes and Ages bears each Form and Name; In one short View subjected to our Eye Gods, Emperors, Heroes, Sages, Beauties lie.

Again Rome's Glories shine,
Her Gods and godlike Heroes rise to View, And all her faded Garlands bloom anew. Nor blush these Studies thy Regard engage, These pleas'd the Fathers of Poetic Rage: The Verse and Sculpture bore an equal Part, And Art reflected Images to Art. Popr.

Locietry

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. DODSLEY, IN PALL-MALL.

MEDALLIC RISTORY

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HIS GRACE

HENRY DUKE OF BEAUFORT.

My Lord,

as Pieces of Antiquity, are the pleafing Amusements of the Curious; but when properly and in due Course applied, and made the constituent Parts of History, they become valuable Acquisitions to the Learned and Ingenious. For such Persons look for somewhat less controvertible than the bare Testimony of Authors, and which is only to be met with in the more recluse Department of Coins and Inscriptions; as they,

The DEDICATION.

who search for Gems, dig deep, and spend but little Time upon the Surface. These are the necessary and infallible Evidences of Historic Truth, explaining and clearing the feveral Parts of it with equal Delight and Profit; and which, neither the Rage of Gothic Barbarity, nor the Ignorance of the dark Ages that succeeded, have been . able to deprive us of. But of all Antiequities of this Sort, those of ROME, and of the higher Empire especially, are most interesting. Our Affection or Veneration for these precious Remains, therefore, does not arise so much from their Antiquity, and the great Names which they preserve Imany of which had else been buried in Oblivion) as from the extraordinary Symbols impressed, and the illustrious Actions recorded on them. Thus on some, which were struck in Honour of the first Imperial CESAR, we see the PERPETUAL DICTATURE, which proved so fatal to him; and, on those of MARCUS BRUTUS, the

The DEDICATION.

the two Daggers of himself and Cassius, with the Cap of Liberty, vainly supposed to be then restored, and the Ides of March which the same CÆSAR had been cautioned to beware of: on others, again, the vindictive pririt of the second TRIUMVIRATE, in their severes of the Mars Ultor; and their lublequent Partition of the Roman Empire, elegantly represented by Emblems on their respective Coins: on others, the strong Passion of the devoted Antony, for his inchanting CLEOPATRA: on others, the heroic Bravery of TRAJAN, lifting from the Shallows the stranded Ship of State: and on others, the unwearied HA-DRIAN, honouring with his Presence and Munificence the feveral Provinces of his wide Dominion. He, who is not taken with these Delicacies, with which History, Antiquity, and true Literature, are so intimately connected, is lost to every genteel Study, and all Sensibility of Taste.

Who is there then so unreflecting as

The DEDICATION

not to admire the Felicity of that City, which, with her Arms, made a Paffage throughout the Nations (for the most Part barbarous and uncivil) for the Introduction of Arts and Commerce, of Learning, Elegance, and Politeness, and, by Divine Providence, of Christianity itself; by the Currency of her Coins and Language uniting the most distant Parts of her extensive Empire? For both these were rendered common, by the Settlement of Colonies in all the conquered Countries, and their Intermarriage with the Natives. For there is but this one Point which can keep any People long distinct, and divided from the Inhabitants with whom they fojourn, namely, the Prohibition of all conjugal Intercourse with them; which is the Case of the Yews: at prefent.

The Progress of these Arms and Arts, during this interesting Period, is represented, in the following Sheets, in a Manner which ear hardly fail of making very permanent

The DEDICATUON.

mianent Impressions, and sthenges of Abeing particularly bufeful. of For othe Natures of Men and Things is formuch, the lame via every Age, that the Experience of the past may well direct the Counsels of the present. Such at least was the Aim and Intent of the arduous Undertaking now with all Hui mility offered to your Grace; in whom Learning, and the liberal Arts, rejoice to have found a distinguishing Judge and ready Patron; true Religion, la vstrenuous Affertor; and your Country, and steady Friend. When to these Considerations are added the Author's personal Obligations to your Grace, and your illustrious House, (which no Time can efface, nor Terms of Language fufficiently acknowledge) the Propriety of this Address will appear unquestionable. If then the Offering be not altogether worthy of your Grace, your Goodness will look benignly on that Zeal of Devotion with which it is made. It is yours to cherish these genteel and amiable Studies, amidst 5

The DEDICATION.

amidst the general Call to Arms, equally zealous to adorn and to defend your Country. Yours, by assisting the Insluence of a Great Example, to shew to a degenerate Age the real Worth of Continence, Probity, and the social Duties, and that there is no Way to the Temple of Honour, but through that of VIRTUE.

For fuch Reasons these Volumes are, as the Author himself has long been, dedicated to your Grace. Happy! if he shall but entertain, where he cannot hope to inform, your Grace; and always happy in the Exercise of that grateful Duty, with which he is, and will be ever,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most obliged, Humble, and most faithful Servant,

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WILLIAM COOKE.

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PREFACE.

indies, complifying of the majordain no Michail to the

AGrievous Charge is brought against the Roman Historians, by one of their own Number *, that the Veracity of not one of them is entirely to be depended upon. He instances in Livy, Sallust, Cornelius Tacitus, and Trogus, who are (says he) the admired Examples of Historic Eloquence. If this be well founded, what is to be done? Certainly the Concurrence of Testimonies, where it is to be had, and

Vol. I.

Me contradicente, neminem Scriptorum, quantum ad Historiam pertinet; non aliquid esse mentitum; prodente quinetiam in quo Livius, in quo Sallustius, in quo Cornelius Tacitus, in quo denique Trogus, manisestis testibus convincerentur. Scribe ut libet, securus quod velis, dicas, habiturus Mendaciorum comites, quos historicæ Eloquentiæ miramur Auctores.

Vopiscus in Aureliano.

the further Assistance of ancient Monuments, are abfolutely necessary for the Confirmation and Establishment of the Facts of Roman History. This, therefore, which is now presented to the Public, is formed from a Review of all that the Ancients have transmitted to us upon the Subject: For which Reason, a particular Authority is rarely quoted, except where the Paffage feemed to require it. And with respect to ancient Monuments, it was judged that Coins and Medals, confifting of the most durable Materials, were of all other the least liable to be corrupted by Time, as well as the most numerous and useful for the Purpose. He who has a Taste for polite Literature, and shall Study the Roman History and Customs with this Advantage, will not only do it with infinite Pleasure, but will have it impressed upon the Memory in Characters never to be obliterated. In this Arrangement of Coins and Medals, it has been a principal Concern of the Author to guard against all Objections. Some of them, at the Time of their being stamped, under Emperors of the most infamous Characters, were made to ferve the Purpose of gross Adulation, and are strong Arguments of the degenerate and servile Spirit of the ... Roman

Roman People. These were commonly called in and melted down on the Decease or Murder of the Tyrant, and the sew that remain of this Kind are properly censured. At the same Time it cannot be denied, that many Frauds and Forgeries (of which more in the Introduction) have been discovered in this Branch of Antiquity. Wherever therefore the Mention of a Medal suspected, or which is judged liable to Suspicion, has occurred, the Reader is constantly apprized of it.

Through much Labour, and many Interruptions, by Sickness and Inquietude, this Work was nearly brought to the Form which it now wears, when a Complication of bodily Insirmities delayed its Introduction to the public Eye by the Death of its Author. The present Editor, to whom the Correction and Improvement of the Whole devolved, together with the Completion of the introductory Matter, left unsinished, esteems himself under the most pressing Call of offering, in a public Manner, his fullest Thanks for the generous Continuance and Increase of that Protection, which enabled his Father to encounter so expensive a Publication, and which will ever oblige him to cherish, with the warmest Gratitude, the dear Remembrance of so high an

Honour and Confidence placed in him. At the same Time, he is too conscious of his own Inability, not to suppose that many Errors will be found in the Work, and throws himself on the Humanity of the candid Reader; who must be sensible, in a Publication of this Nature, that Misapplications are inevitable: such, he trusts, will not be imputed; but that a strenuous Endeavour to sulfil the Will of a departed Parent may and will be accepted as a reasonable Excuse for many, but involuntary, Failings, from him, who in every Circumstance of Life continues to lament

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Thame School,
Oxfordshire,
July 1781.

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fully compared, as the Roader will have large klyportunities of chleving, at his on the Medals and Cloims on which they were excessionally recorded:

CHOULD any of my Readers expect to fee a new Collection of Coins in the following Work, they will find themselves disappointed. It is not an History of Roman Medals, but a Medallic Hiftory of Rome under the Emperors, during a Space of almost four hundred Years. No regular History of this most important Interval, on this Plan, has hitherto appeared; the short Account prefixed to the Coins of each Reign by Patin, and other Antiquarians, aiming at no fuch Denomination: nor is the greater Part of the Coins themselves, being Greek, adapted to this Purpose. With these Assistances only, this Undertaking had not been attempted. But it was the frequent Examination of that most princely and superb Collection, made by THOMAS Earl of PEMBROKE and MONTGOMERY, and published published about thirty Years ago (much to the Honour of that illustrious Family, being a most noble Instance of Beneficence to the learned World) which convinced the Author of the Practicableness of it.

The Particulars of the History were selected from the feveral Greek and Roman Authors, who have treated of the Affairs of the Commonwealth, carefully compared, as the Reader will have large Opportunities of observing, and from the Medals and Coins on which they were occasionally recorded: so that, generally speaking, they mutually confirm and illustrate each other. Yet in numerous Instances these last will be found to supply the Defects, as well as to correct the Mistakes, of the former, to clear their Obscurities, and ascertain the Reading of disputed Passages. And these are Authorities which will admit of little Controversy; the Authenticity of them being as well established as any Thing of the Kind can be. For the Collectors of them were Persons of such approved Name in Matters of Antiquity, of fuch large Experience, deep Observation, and accurate Judgment, as were little liable to Imposition.

But as the Author has made Use of some sew of those Coins which are inserted in the Fasti Consulares of Goltzius, it behoves him to take Notice of

The INTRODUCTION.

an Objection made by Patin. That Antiquarian, in his Preface to the Coins of the Roman Emperors, declares, that he had been folicitous to decline the Assistance of others, who had offered him Copies of the Coins in their Possession, being determined to admit of none but what he had feen with his own Eyes, left he should fall into the fame Error with the celebrated Goltzius, who has filled up (fays he) a third Part of his Consular Fasti with Copies of Coins, of which no Man ever faw the genuine Originals, or peradventure will fee. His Reason for this Affertion appears in the Preface to his Roman Families, " Nulla cujusquam unquam diligentia fieri potuit, ut vel dimidia pars tantæ congeriei emengeret;" " that it was impossible for any Person's Diligence to bring to light even the Moiety of so great a Collection." This was very unadvisedly, however confidently, affirmed. There are (says our judicious Countryman Mr. Obadiah Walker) very many Roman Coins, generally supposed to be before Julius CESAR, at first collected by Fulvius Urfinus, in his excellent Work; who found no other Advantage, but by them to discover the Roman Families; and according to those Families he ranks them alphabetically, which is the Reason that they are called Coins of the Families. But Goltzius coming after, and thinking this

this an inferior and Bye Intention, was ordered by his Patron, Marc Laurinus, to reduce them to Confuls, and fo they come to be called Confular Coins. The Consular Coins of Goltzius therefore appear to have been chiefly copied from that very Collection: of Fulvius Ursinus, which Patin was then republishing; to which, it may be, were added some others, which this Antiquarian, with all his own Diligence, which was very great, had never met with. And this indeed feems to have been the real Ground of the Objection. For if it regard the Number only, as he intimates, himself has published more: but if it have an Eye to the very distant Antiquity of them, we have little to do with it, as our Work commences where the Objection ends. But how effectually would this Objection to the tanta congeries of Goltzius have been filenced, had the Author of it been now living to behold the Copies of those in the Earl of PEM-BROKE's Collection, a confiderable Part of which, it is evident from his Writings, that he had never feen Thus it is too common, ungenerous as it is. for learned Men to depreciate, with little Reason, the Labours of those who have gone before them in the same Track. However, on this Account, we have had Recourse to the Fasti but very sparingly, having taken off only about seventy in the Wholes 1119 most

most of which are to be met with either in Patin himself or the Pembrokian Collection, and all of them very commonly appealed to by the most esteemed Authors, as Testimonies of undoubted Authority. At the same Time that we say this, we must acknowlege, that to the indefatigable Researches of this very eminent Physician, and of his learned Countrymen in general, the studious in Antiquity are most highly indebted.

Yet, though the Author professes not to treat of Medals, in the Body of the enfuing Work, any further than as they are feverally connected with the Subject-Matter of the History, it may not be improper in this Place to premise a general Account of them, for the Use of those whom natural Curiofity, and the Perusal of these Sheets, may invite to so genteel and agreeable a Study. Medallic Literature is ridiculous only to those who do not understand it. The Meanness of the Materials is commonly the Foundation of the Sarcasms which are cast upon it. But all our Learning is but the Recovery of ancient Knowledge. And if Coins contain a Part of it, certainly they are not the less valuable for being rusty, nor the Study trifling which tends to the Ascertainment of those that are genuine. Men are too much disposed to contemn fuch Parts of Learning as they are unacquainted Vol. I. with.

with. But no one ever yet found Fault with the Science of Medals, who had judged it worth his while to enquire into the real Utility of it. And one would think that the Examples of fo many Princes and illustrious Names as have made Collections of them, and of fo many Persons in all Ages and Countries, eminent for their extensive Learning and found Judgment, who have occafionally had Recourse to them, should incline others, if not to think favourably of it, at least tofuspend their Censure, till the Unprofitableness of it shall haply be discovered. To survey the Lineaments of the great Men who have figured fo long before us, and to confider how far they correspond in our Imagination with the mighty Actions ascribed to them, and 'the many Things which we have read of them, is without Doubt a very pleasing Amusement. To examine the Look, the Air, the Drefs and Fashion of those Beauties, who have taken in their Toils those Rulers of the World, is a Fund of Reflection to the Curious. From several of these, the British Fair might learn Fashion much more fweetly corresponding with their native Charms, than the towering Head-dress of the present Mode. A modern Voyager of Discernment, speaking of fome of the Indian Ladies at Batavia, fays, "that

"their Hair is univerfally black, and formed into "a Kind of circular Wreath, upon the Top of the Head, where it is fastened with a Bodkin, in a Taste which we thought inexpressibly elegant." And this is the very Fashion which distinguishes the elder Faustina. But they will find much more to admire and imitate, while they rested upon the Tenderness of Cornelia, the Discretion of Livia, the Sanctity of Plotina, the Magnanimity of Zenobia; Examples, which have raised the Sex to that Height of Glory, which may justly vie with the Reputation of the most exalted Heroes of Antiquity.

To view the long List of Deities to be collected from them, with their respective Attributes, and to compare them with the Descriptions given of them by the Poets, is an Employment very suitable to the Taste of a Gentleman and a Scholar, of singular Advantage to those who study the fine Arts, and not without its Uses in the Investigation of true Religion also. To observe the Figure of the several ancient Instruments, musical, mechanical, military, and sacrificial, which occur to us in our Reading every Day; the Wonders of their Architecture, in their superb Structures, their Ships, Havens, Forums, Temples, Theatres, Bridges, Aquaeducts, Columns, and Arches; the Rewards of their

Heroes, Admirals, and Generals, in mural, civic, rostral, and triumphal Wreaths, cheap to the State; but to Individuals inestimable; the popular Arts of Government, in Allocutions, Congiaries, Games, and the continual Entertainments of the Circus and Amphitheatre, represented on them; must not only give great Satisfaction to the Curious, but minister largely to Improvement. In a Word, when we consider how much Criticism, Poetry, Painting, Architecture, Statuary, Orthography, Geography, Chronology, and History, are indebted to the Science of Medals, it will excite our Wonder that it has not much more generally engaged the Attention of Mankind. These Uses of it will appear fo evidently in the Course of the following Work; and Mr. Addison, in his Dialogues upon the Usefulness of ancient Medals, has been so particular on this Subject; that it would be altogether superfluous to expatiate upon them more largely here.

Rude Brass is said to have been current anciently in Rome, even to the Time of Servius Tullus. Some will have Janus, others Numa, to have first stamped it. Then it bore the Figures of Cattle (Pecus) impressed, whence it was called Pecunia.

Afterwards it had the double Janus on one Side, and the Ship of Saturn on the other, being so stamped,

The INTRODUCTION.

stamped, according to Tradition, by Janus himself. For which Reason Ovid introduces him saying,

Noscere me duplici posses in imagine, dixit,
Ni vetus ipsa dies extenuaret opus;
Causa ratis superest: Thuscum rate venit in amnem
Ante pererrato falciser orbe deus.
Hac ego Saturnum memini tellure receptum;
Cælitibus regnis ab Jove pulsus erat.
Inde diu genti mansit Saturnia nomen
Dista quoque est Latium terra, latente deo:
At bona posteritas puppim servavit in ære,
Hospitis adventum testissicata dei.
Fasti. 1. 1.

I in the double Figure might be trac'd,
But that my Image is by Time defac'd:
And for the Ship; 'tis that in which the God,
Who bears the Scythe, into the Tiber rode.
There his Reception I with Joy beheld,
When from his Realms above by Jove expell'd:
From him Saturnia nam'd this Region fair,
And after Latium, because latent there.—
Hence on your current Coins the Ship impress'd
Records th' Arrival of th' illustrious Guest.

Some of the ancient Plates were of two Pounds Weight; this was the Dupondium: others of one; and this was the As, containing twelve Ounces. The Divisions of the As, were the Semis or Selibra, being the Half, or fix Ounces; the Triens or third Part, four Ounces; the Quadrans, or fourth Part, three Ounces; and the Sextans, or fixth Part, two Ounces.

But in the first Carthaginian War, when it was found necessary to raise the Value of their Money. the As was made to contain only a fixth Part of its former Weight, that is two Ounces; and afterwards, when they were hard pressed by Hannibal, but one Ounce, by the Authority of Fabrus the Dictator; and last of all, no more than half an Ounce. These again were divided into the Dodrans or three Quarters, and the Quadrans or one Quarter. The Aes was either red Copper or Brass, or Pot-Metal, that is, Copper mixed with Tin or Lead. The two first Sorts were generally made use of before the Time of ALEXANDER SEVERUS, and the last afterwards. The Brass was either the common Sort, or occasioned by the Burning of Corinth by Mummius, when the Gold, Silver, Brass, and other Metals ran together. So fays the Elder Pliny. But, on Trial, no Gold has been found in it.

In the Year of the City CDXXCIV, when Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS and C. FULVIUS PICTOR were Consuls, the Romans began to coin Silver. This was five Years before the first Punic War. Their Pattern they took from the Sicilians. Originally the Denarius, which was barely the eighty-fourth Part of a Pound of Silver, was estimated at ten Pounds of Brass, and the Quinarius at five. It

was called also Quinessis, for that Reason. But the Sestertius, which was the fourth Part of a Denarius, passed current for two Pounds and a half of the fame Metal. This is evident from the Coins themfelves: fince on the Denarius the Decimal Figure X, or X, is frequent; as on the Quinarius the V or Q for Quinque; and on the Sestertius IIS or HS, that is, Duo et Semis. This great Disproportion might be one Reason for their lessening the Brass Coin foon after. And when the As was reduced to one Ounce, as abovefaid, then the Denarius was valued at fixteen As's, as PLINY observes, agreeable to the Mark impressed upon it. The Denarii were of pure Silver, till the Year of the City DCLXII, when M. LIVIUS DRUSUS the Tribune preferred a Law for having an eighth Part of Brass mixed with Silver, for the Coinage of them. This Sort of Coin varied according to the Exigencies of the State, but feldom exceeded the seventh Part of a Roman Ounce, nor was less than an eighth, making fometimes eighty-fix, eighty-eight, and fo on to ninety-fix, rarely an hundred in a Pound of Silver, and that only after Nero's Time. The Roman Denarius, and the Attic Drachma, were reckoned of equal Value in common Currency, though the latter was fomewhat heavier. The Roman Pound, according to Greaves, weighed 5246 Grains, which

is 514 Grains lighter than our Pound Troy. But in the Reign of Tiberius, all that were not of pure Silver, were melted down by order of that Emperor, as we learn by Xiphilin from Dio Cassius. But under fucceeding Reigns they were again adulterated, and the Evil fo encreased, that the Silver thus adulterated funk, about the Time of the younger GORDIAN, to less than one third of the original Value. Yet under Diocletian, and his Successors, it regained its Purity; but the Coin was then lessened both in Weight and Size, for through the Scarcity of it, occasioned by their continual Wars, they melted down much of that which was ancient, and struck it anew with their own Figures; whence we have now more of theirs, and fewer of the more ancient Coins of this Metal.

The Figures at first impressed upon the Silver Coins were those of the Gods, principally of their own Roma, which they deisied, and of Heroes or samous Cities, on one Side; and on the other, of bigated or quadrigated Cars, of Castor and Pollux, and of Victory, expressed in different Forms. Hence the Coins themselves were called bigated, quadrigated, victoriated. In Process of Time they further varied the Figures, according to the Fancy of the Chief Magistrates, or of those to whose Charge the Coinage was committed. These last were of the Magistratus

Magistratus minores, of whom the Law said, AES, ARGENTVM, AVRVMVE PVBLICE SIGNAN-TO. They were denominated V VIRI Quinque viri, IIII VIRI Quatuor viri or Quartum viri, III VIRI Triumviri, as the Number of them happened at different Times to be. They expressed upon the Coins their Names, Titles, and Offices, by fingular Marks, and with fo much Ingenuity as to equal, if not exceed, the Hieroglyphics of the Egyptians. For not only the Occasion of their being struck was intimated by the Figures stamped thereon, but the Origin of Provinces, Nations, and Families, their Pedigrees and illustrious Descent, with very much more conducive to the right Understanding of the Roman History, and the Knowledge of ancient Literature. From the Denarii particularly we gather, that four Persons were at first chosen from amongst the Senators, to oversee the Coinage of Silver: For we have feveral of them still existing, with a bigated Car, driven by a Victor, bearing a Palm-Branch, and on the other Side the Juno Moneta, whom by the Frontal Diadem we know to be the same with the Juno Regina. For the Roman Writers inform us, that when Veii was taken, the Juno brought thence was worshipped in different Temples by a different Name, being called Regina on Mount Aventine, and Moneta in the Vol. I. Capitol,

The INTRODUCTION.

Capitol, so named from the Admonition which she gave. For in the War with Tarentum and King Pyrrhus, when the Romans wanted Money, and applied to her with Vows and Sacrifices, she became their Monitor, affuring them, that if they would use their Arms with Justice, the Sinews of War should not be wanting to them. Being afterwards crowned with Success, they paid their Devotions to her as the Juno Moneta, or well-admonishing Juno, and decreed in Honour of her that their Money should be coined at her Temple in the Capitol. For the same Reason they gave the Name of Moneta to their Money also, because by the Marks impressed upon it, they were admonished or told of its Authority and Value. Hence this too was ranked amongst the Goddesses, as St. Augustine observes from Varro, and is therefore stiled the Regina Pecunia, by Horace:

Scilicet uxorem cum dote fidemque et Amicos Et genus et formam Regina Pecunia donat, Ac bene nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.

For Gold, the Sovereign Queen of all below, Friends, Honour, Birth, and Beauty can bestow. The Goddess of Persuasion forms her Train, And Venus decks the well-bemoney'd Swain.

FRANCIS.

Yet Juvenal seems to intimate, that the Roman Superstition

The INTRODUCTION.

Superstition had not even in his Time sunk quite so low:

Quandoquidem inter nos sanctissima divitiarum Majestas, etsi funesta Pecunia templo Nondum habitas, nullas nummorum ereximus aras Ut colitur Pax, atque Fides, Victoria, Virtus.

Gold is the greatest God, tho' yet we see No Temples rais'd to *Money*'s Majesty, No Altars fuming to her Power divine, Such as to *Valour*, *Peace*, and *Virtue* shine.

DRYDEN.

But the Satyrist was certainly mistaken. And Varro tells us, that there were several Gods, and Rites, and Ceremonies, with which even many of the Learned were unacquainted. Thus, as Aesculanus was the God of Brass Money, according to St. Augustine, and his Son Argentinus of Silver Coin (and 'tis wonderful, says he, that Argentinus should not beget Aurinus, or a God of Gold Coin too) so was Pecunia the Goddess of Money in general. Whence Arnobius cries out, in Lib. 4. Who would believe at last that Money was a Goddess, and celebrated by your Writers as a most powerful Deity, conferring Rank and Precedence, and Honours?

But to return: The Romans judged that they had sufficient Reason for promoting the Worship of Juno Moneta, and striking her Figure upon the Denarii, as well as the Figures of their other

Deities, in the Manner that we fee it on fuch as are bigated; on which also we read the Name of one of the first Quatuorviri appointed to this Ser-Pl. I. 1. vice. Lucius FLAMINius CHILO IIIIvir PRImus FLandi: which feems to intimate, that he was the chief or first-elected of the first Four. Others there are of him with only L. FLAMIN. CILO, with a Victory driving a bigated Car, on one Side; and on the other, the Head of the Goddess Roma. finely galeated, and winged above the Ears: of which the Reader will see many Instances in the Course of this Work, with her Name inscribed, and the Numerical Mark of the Denarius. By the Wings added to the Helmet, they would infinuate the Readiness of Counsel, and the Celerity of Execution, required in warlike Enterprizes. The other three were probably C. FABIUS and OGULNIUS the Confuls, N. FABIUS PICTOR, the Brother of the former, at that Time of Edilitian Quality, and Conful three Years after; for there are Coins with the Pl. I. 2. following Inscription, C. FABI. C. F. EX. A. PV. i. e. ex argento publico. And these have other Marks, intimating from what public Silver they were coined, namely, from that which Ptolemy King of Egypt had presented to the Roman Ambassadors three Years before: which Charge these three (together with Q. Fabius Gurges) had fustained; for

they

they bear the Figure of a Matron, veiled and turrited, representing Alexandria, the Capital of Egypt, as is evident from the Denarius of M. AIMILIUS LERIDUS, whom the Senate appointed to be the Restorer and Tutor of Ptolemy Philometor, when he fled to Rome, in the Year of the City DXC; which we have therefore inferted. There are also, on the other Side, beneath the bigated Car of Vic-TORY, some facred Symbols of Egypt, as the Ibis particularly, and the double Circle or Ring between two Points, as depending from one to the other. The Ibis, in the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, sometimes denotes the King, and fometimes the Kingdom itfelf, as being peculiar to that Region; for there it is bred, and lives, and dies presently if exported to any other. For its Country too it fights, destroying the Serpents that infest it. And such is the Charge of the Regal Office, to love, to abide in and protect his Realm, and to purge it of Evil. double Ring is the Bond of that Amity and Society with which the two States of Egypt and Rome were now mutually connected.

The Denarius of Ogulnius has the Head of Rome galeated, with the Name ROMA, and the Numerical Figure; and on the other Side, the Twin-Brothers, Castor and Pollux, on Horseback, with their respective Stars over them, inscribed Q. OGVLNI.

Pl. I. 3.

Pl. I. 4.

OGVLNILLOF. CAL, by which the same brotherly Connection was intended. But there are others inscribed Qvintus OGVLNIus CALlus, which have on one Side a youthful Head laureated, with the three-forked Lightning underneath it. This is the Dius Fidius (the Greeks also had their Zeus Πιστιος) the God of Good Faith, and the Avengerof Treaties infringed, the Son of Jupiter, one of the Dii Novenfiles of the Sabines, introduced by Tatius, or of the Nine, to whom Jupiter was supposed to have committed the Disposal of his Thunder, and whose Temple was on the Quirinal Mount. On the other Side is his Father Jupiter driving his quadrigated Car, and darting his Thunder: In the Exergue are the Letters WR. CAR.; for the Understanding which it is necessary to remark, that, after the Death of Pyrrhus, the Carthaginians had assisted the Tarentines against the Romans; but being defeated, the latter had, out of the Spoils takenfrom them, coined this Money. My Author (Pighius) therefore reads, et VER sutorum CARthaginenfum, i: e. the Silver of the double or deceitful-Carthaginians; though I should rather chuse to read it, ERsus CARthaginem, as applied to the Signature above, and meaning that the Car of the Thunderer, and his Vengeance, were directed towards Carthage; for this occasioned that Enmity between; the

the two Republics, which ended in the Destruction of that City. A Denarius of the last has a VICTORY driving a quadrigated Car, with N. FABI. C. F. PICTOR; and on the other Side, the Diana Venatrix, with a Crescent on her Forehead, and the Word ROMA. But this must have been struck two or three Years after, either when he triumphed over the Sassinates, or over the Sallentini and Mesfapii. But another, which is more to our Purpose. has on one Side the galeated ROMA, with the x; and on the other, Quirinus or Romulus, feated, with a Spear in one Hand, and the Pontifical Apex in the other: In the Area, Numerianus FABIus PIC-TOR; and in the Exergue, ROMA. On one Side also we see the Letter E, and on the other N, which may be E Nostro, i. e. Argento. Such are the Reasons for supposing these to have been the first Quartumviri for the Coinage of Denarii. But in the inestimable Collection of the Earl of Pembroke, as in Patin's Roman Families also, I find either a new Office, or the old very particularly expressed, where the Genius of Rome appears on the Face of the Medal, wearing the Diadem, and having the Scepter behind him, with G. P. R. for Genius Populi Romani; and for the Reverse, a Scepter, Wreath, Helm, and Globe, as Attributes of this Sovereign of the World: In the Area, EX. S. C.

Pl. I. 5.

Pl. I. 6.

and

and underneath, LEN. CVR. × FL. for Lentulus Curator Denariorum Flandorum. This was probably the Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, who was Conful with P. Licinus Crassus in the Year of the City DCLVI; for we have another, which was struck by him when he was Questor, with exactly the same Face and Reverse, except that he is there called EN. LEN. Q.

Thirteen Years, or fixty-two Years, for fo differently is the Time computed, after the Coining of Silver, they began to stamp Gold in much the fame Manner. But one Denarius of Gold was double the Weight of the Silver Denarius; and was usually worth twenty-four of them, but being stamped, passed for twenty-five. And this Proportion is still kept. For when there were ninety_ fix Denarii in a Pound of Silver, there were fortyeight Aurei. There were also the Semissis and Tremissis of Gold; though it is said, that the two last were not struck till the Time of Alexander Severus. in whose Reign the Reader will find more on this Subject. I shall only remark here, that pure Gold was in Use to the Days of this Emperor, who permitted a fifth Part of Silver to be mixed with four Parts of Gold. This they called Electrum; and, in Consequence of his Regulations, Medals were confecrated to him as the Restorer of the Coin: a Compliment

Compliment due with equal Justice to the Providence of the present most august Sovereign of Great Britain; who in this, and many other Respects, may be compared to that most excellent and virtuous Emperor. It is very certain, that the Laws respecting the Coinage were held sacred both by his Predecessors and Successors; insomuch, that there is no genuine Roman Coin found less pure than the above Proportion.

No Person was permitted to coin without the Authority of the State. But this Privilege was allowed to Commanders, and executed by their Questors, for the Payment of the Troops. Yet Colony Coins are very common; Argentaria, or Mints, having been fixed in different Places. And usually there was a Mint in the Capital of every Province, as at Lyons, Treves, London, &c: So that the Monetarii, the Mint-men or Coiners, were very numerous, insomuch that in the Reign of Aurelian they raised a Rebellion, in which forty thousand of them and their Adherents perished.

The Size of ancient Medals is, from three Inches to a Quarter of an Inch. Those of the larger Volume are called Medallions; some of which weigh two Ounces and a Half. There are hardly any of these in Gold, sew in Silver, but many in Copper. These were intended either for Missilia, to be scattered amongst the People on extraordinary Octor.

Vol. I. cahons,

The INTRODUCTION.

casions, or for Presents, or were Aslays of Workmanship, delivered out for the Approbation of the Emperor, or other Persons of elevated Rank, and are most admirably wrought: Whence we may eafily account for the apparent Searcity of them. It is not to be supposed, that Stamps of such Accuracy, and exquisite Finishing, could be intended for the current Uses. Materiem superabat opus. The Workmanship was too precious for the Value of fo much Brass or Copper. And it is made a Question, whether any of those Coins of the former Emperors, which are so highly wrought, were current in the Time of the latter. Yet we find many of them restored by the latter Emperors, by Titus, Domitian, and Trajan particularly; and the Figures of all the confecrated Emperors are faid to have been recoined after the Time of Alexander Severus, probably by the Emperor Galienus, but not altogether with that Life and Expression as before. What is faid above concerning the Medallion, will hold good of the Nummi Contorniati, which are all of Brass or Copper, and finely edged round with a Rim of different Metal, of which there are feveral in the Pembrokian Collection.

It appears from the Digests, that the Use of the ancient Gold and Silver Coins, such as were worn for Jewels (quibus pro Gemmis uti solent) might be disposed of by Legacy; and such Use is there inter-

preted

The INTRODUCTION:

preted to be ff the Pleasure, Delight, and Recreation taken in them." These, therefore, were hanged about the Neck by Way of Ornament, as I doubt not but the Medallions of Brass and Copper also were, which were frequently gilded for that Purpose. And if any of these were really of Corinthian Brass, they wanted no such Illustration. Suetonius says of Augustus, that at the Time of the Saturnalia, and at other Times when the Fancy took him, he gave away Raiment, and Gold and Silver, and sometimes ancient Coins of every Stamp, even fuch as were regal and foreign. Hence it is evident, that Medals were then in high Repute with the Curious. And of such ornamental Coins, I suppose, the Edict of his Successor Tiberius is to be understood, when he made it capital for any Person to enter a Jakes or Brothel with a Coin or Ring impressed with the Image of Augustus. For this he confidered as a great Indignity offered to the Memory of the deified Emperor. And we read in Philostratus's Life of Apollonius, of a certain great Man under a capital Profecution for having struck his own Slave, who at the Time held one of these Coins in his Hand. But the principal Motive for striking them was, that it was reasonably judged to be the most effectual Method of preserving the Portraits of great Persons, and the Memory of their unresed of by Legacy; and such anoing A suprifulli

1, 176

The Value of these consists in the Elegance, the History, the Bulk, and the Scarcity of the Piece. The Elegance appears in the Delineation and Entireness of it; and the Beauty of the Delineation, in the natural Representation and Expression of the Figures. The very admirable Sculpture of them feems from the first to have promised Immortality. They have also the Advantage of the circular Figure; which is, the more exactly round, the more graceful. The Evenness of the Characters, and the Proportion of the Lineaments, form other Parts of Elegance; and if they have contracted the Aerugo, or Ruft, whether red or green, they are fo far from being faulty on this Account, that they are much defended against the Injuries of Time, and their Entireness the more effectually secured. But the History is their best Encomium, which in them is most clearly and engagingly transmitted to Posterity. Their Bulk is considered by a Comparison of them. with others, and is evident in Weight, in Magnitude, and chiefly in the Relief of the Figures. On this Occasion, Charles Patin gives an Instance of one of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, so large as to exceed in Size and Weight any eight of the common Medals of great Brass. In the next Place, what is rare, is dear; being held on this Account most valuable; whereas Things trite and common are but little esteemed. Hence the Worth of the Medallion;

dallien; which, for the same Reason, is most likely to improve, being that up in the Cabinet of the Curious as soon as discovered, and seldom exposed to Sale.

Other Medals are usually ranked in three Classes, Great, Middle, and Small. The Class is determined not so much by the Breadth and Thickness, as by the Size of the Head stamped upon it. The middle Class is commonly distinguished as Bronze. The Shape is seldom perfectly round, and the Edges are frequently cracked. This was owing to the Force of the Instrument in Coining. For the Ancients are thought to have melted the Metal, and cast it into Moulds; and then, while it was hot, to have stamped it with a large and heavy Hammer. The Sides or Tables of a Medal are, the Face, or Obverse, and the Reverse.

of the Lower Empire. The Higher Empire is comprehended in this MEDALLIC HISTORY; at the Conclusion of which, the Lower commences, and reaches to the End of the ninth Century of the Christian Æra.

As to the Number; Patin will have it, the entire Series of Roman Coins will not amount to more than fix or seven hundred; and of this he is pretty positive from his own Observation, as having frequent Admission to the Cabinets of his Most Christian Majesty and the Elector Palatine. The Con-

fular

fular Coins, in particular, he computes at one thoufand and thirty-seven, reduced by him to seventyeight Roman Families; to which more may be added by new Discoveries. Of these he professes to have feen forty-two of Gold, seven hundred and fortyone of Silver, and two hundred and fifty-four of Brass; unless perchance (says he) I may have repeated the same Coin as belonging to different Families; as for Instance, that of Sepullius Macer, struck in Honour of Julius Cafar, which may be referred to the Julian as well as Sepullian Family. And indeed he might have produced many more Instances of this Sort from his own ROMAN FA-These, however, are not all, strictly speaking, Consular Coins; many of them having been struck by the Order of Prætors, Tribunes, Ediles, and Generals. Dr. Jennings remarks, that the Consular Medals are reckoned to be the most ancient of the Roman Coins now extant; and yet those of Copper and Silver are not supposed to be more ancient than the 484th Year of Rome, nor those of Gold than the Year 546. Whatever Medals therefore are produced of an older Date, are looked upon as spurious. This is questionable with respect to those of Copper, though undoubtedly true of the -Silver, and nearly, that is within 49 Years, if not -altogether fo of the Gold. Yet there are feveral which refer to Transactions and Persons much more ancient

The INTRODUCTION.

ancient than these Dates, which were struck by the Descendants of those that are represented on them.

It is impossible to ascertain the whole Number of different Imperial Medals now extant, new Discoveries being made of them every Day in various Countries. We can therefore only fay, with the last-quoted Author, that they are reckoned by F. Joubert to be about one thousand, or one thoufand two hundred, of Gold, which almost doubles Patin's Number; about three thousand of Silver; and fix or feven thousand of Copper and Brass. But in general those struck at Rome, or in some other Part of Italy, are the most esteemed, both for Device, Importance, and masterly Execution. But the Coins of Brass and Copper serve more for the Illustration of History than those of Gold and Silver, having, from the Meannels of the Metal, escaped the Rapaciousness of Avarice; and being also more valuable than either, from the general Elegance of their Inscriptions, which are clearly, simply, and magnificently expressed. There is not any Thing in those of Gold and Silver, more than the intrinsic Value of the Metal, which is not to be met with in those of Brass and Copper. But you may see a thousand of the last, whose Reverses differ from the former. The Smallness of the Size, in those of the more precious Materials, would not admit of any great Variety of Figures; whereas the other, of the larger

The INTRODUCTIONS

larger Volume, were capacious enough for longer Inferiptions and more ingenious Devices. In those of great Brais, particularly, there was room for the Artist to exert his Genius and Skill; while the S C proclaims the Value and Genuineness of the Coins, and gives Authority to the Legend, and to the Figures impressed. At the same Time, the Features and Air of the Emperors are represented sully, and in the most lively Manner. It is also peculiar to this Volume, that a continued Series of the Emperors, and of most of the Empresses, may be found of it in the Cabinets of the Curious.

But the continual Use of the smaller Coins, as current Money, has greatly injured, and in many Instances totally ruined them, both in Character and Figure; while the Glory of the Medallion remains, for the most Part, unimpaired.

Medals in general become valuable principally from their Rarity, for the Metal is of small Consideration. Hence arises the Estimation of an Otho, a Nerva, a Pertinax, a Niger, a Didius Julianus, the two Gordians of Africa, &c: For their Reigns were short, and consequently sew Coins of them were struck. Yet there are other Circumstances which greatly enhance the Value of a Medal: as the Antiquity of it; the having two or more Heads stamped upon it; the Goodness of the Master (and the best Masters were from Nero to Pertinax):

The INTRODUCTION.

PERTINAX); the high Preservation of it; the Size; and the Erudition or the Singularity of the Reverse.

The Debasement of the Coin was a capital Crime; yet there were many Instances of it: For it is not uncommon to find them of Iron or Brass within, and covered with a thin Plate of Silver. Mare Antony, in his Triumvirate, is said to have been guilty of this mean Fraud. This gave Occasion to the Notching of the Edges of them with a File, by Way of Trial. And hence we have the Nummi Serrati.

Pliny the Elder (lib. xxxiii. cap. 9. ad finem) tells of Statues raised to the Honour of Marius Gratidianus, for having found out a Method of distinguishing between genuine and false Coins; a Discovery extremely agreeable to the People. So very ancient were Frauds of this Kind. Indeed some Persons laid up these Counterfeits as Curiosities; and it is by the same Author remarked as somewhat extraordinary, that a false Denarius should be purchased at the Expence of many that were genuine. But Impositions of this Sort were not confined to the Ancients; for when Learning revived, at the Reformation, and many Persons were forming Collections of ancient Medals; others, instigated by the Hope of Gain, began to invent and counterfeit Vol. I. them; $\mathbf{g}_{\mathbb{R}^{n}}$

The INTRODUCTION.

them; but the Inventors were the more pernicious Set of Men, because they imposed false Testimonies upon the World, while the latter were but the Copiers of those that were true. Such was William du Choul, who lived about two hundred and forty Years ago, and was one of the first Virtuosos that wrote upon the Monuments of Greece and Rome. In his Book of the Religion of the old Romans, he printed the Stamps of two Medals of AGRIPPA, which were undoubtedly falle. The first was of Great Brass, with the Pantheon for the Reverse; the other of Silver, with a Neptune for the Reverse, drawn by two Sea-Horses, with the Legend Arouo-RIS HIC OMNIPOTENS. His Contemporary, Antony Lepois, who wrote in French very amply on the Subject of Medals, has cited feveral others of the fame Kind, as a Scipio Africanus of Brass, the Pons Aelius on a Reverse of HADRIAN, and a PESCEN-NIUS NIGER of Gold, which have not been met with fince. T. Annius of Viterbo, besides Medals, framed Inscriptions of his own Imagination, and buried them in convenient Places, that, when they should have contracted the Appearance of Antiquity, he might produce and dispose of them, as he did of his Berofus, &c. The same Abuse of describing salse Coins for true, is also said to be in Guevara's Epistles, in Jovius Pontanus's Venditionis Formula,

in Pomponius Lætus's Will, in Job. Camers, in Cyr. Anconitanus, called the Antiquary, and the Promptuarum Iconum, by which two last, many Authors, particularly the Spanish, have been deceived. In the Pembrokian Collection, there are Copies of feveral of these fictitious Coins; as King Priam, with the Grecian Fleet before Troy for the Reverse; Artemisia with the Mausoleum; Marcellus with the Amphitheatre; two of OTHO in Great Brass, the one with an Adlocution, the other with an Italia; a Scipio Africanus triumphant; a Cicero with Minerva, as we see it in the Variorum Edition of the Epistolæ ad Familiares by Grævius; a Virgil with Mæcenas; a Cataline; an Æsop; a Julius Cæsar with Britannia; and many more. Of the same Sort are all those which bear the Heads of great Republican Leaders and Philosophers, and all that have moral Sentences.

The Counterfeiters were Carteron the Dutchman, Victor Gambello, Giovanni del Cavino, and his Son, called the Paduans, Benevento Celleni, Alexander and Giovan Jacapo, his Brother, Sebastian Plumbo, Valerius de Vicenza, Gorlæus, &c. These were the most eminent Workmen, who, with exquisite Art and Taste, endeavoured to imitate the Antique while they copied from true Medals, and their Copies in many Instances excel the Originals. There are

great Numbers of their Medals, which pass under the common Denomination of the Paduan. To distinguish them, the following Observations should be attended to.

The Genuineness of Medals will appear, I. From the Field, which should be smooth, for a Roughness, and Marks of the Sand in which they were cast, are commonly to be remarked in Counterfeits. II. There is also a manifest Difference in the Formation of the Letters, for the Antique are never fo uniform, nor so sharp and forked. The Letter M particularly, as Mr. Walker observes, is made ftraight down, whereas the Strokes of the Genuine are always thus, oblique M, and the Sculpture is perceptibly modern. HI. From the Edges, where; in Counterfeits, the Marks of the File may generally be discovered, and more especially where the Metal entered the Mould. IV. But chiefly from the Colour, and the Varnish, which is either blue, or green, or of a reddish brown. This Colour, contracted by Age, is inimitable. The green Varnish, made use of by Falsisiers, is bright and glaring, that a little Experience will eafily diftinguish it.

To these Marks, the French Author of A Treatise of the Revenue and false Money of the Romans, adds, that the counterfeit Medals of Great Brass, called The Paduans, are generally of a Flank less thick than

than are the Antique, nor so worn and corroded as the others: the Letters look modern: the Varnish is black, greasy, shining, and soft upon pricking it: whereas the Antique is clearly bright, and hard as the Metal. They are always circular; but the Antique are scarce ever so regularly round, especially since the Reign of Trajan. All the Medallions, from Julius Cæsar to Hadrian, are much suspected. There is but a small Number of them genuine, and only to be met with in the choicest Cabinets.

The first Point of Knowledge to be acquired. fays he, is that of the Character or Form of the Letters. For howsoever a Medal be counterfeited. whether it be of modern Coining, cast upon an Antique or Modern, touched over again, or struck with the Hammer, the Letters are always false; and whereas most antique Medals, except those of Gold, are very much worn, the Paduan appear in all their Beauty. An Imposition is not so easy in Gold or Silver, as in Brass, where the Mastich and false Varnish will conceal and cover its Defects. The Cracks on the Edges of genuine Medals have been sometimes counterfeited on false Coins. These should be nicely examined on both Sides, whether the Crack be equal and uniform in its Shape, whether it be naturally winding, and gradually lessening till

But if the Crack be broad and straight, it is certainly falle. Another Method of trying Medals is, to compare them with the Bustos; when, if both be really antique, they will not fail mutually to confirm and justify each other.

Some Medals, which have been almost consumed by Time, have been restored by working them over again, and re-ingraving the worn Figures; but this is discovered by the Middle being more hollow than the Edges. Others have been re-stamped, when worn on one or both Sides. If on one Side only, they lay a Felt under the other to save it from the Violence of the Stroke; notwithstanding which, that Side will be flat and battered, while the other is fresh and rough. And if both Sides be new stamped, the Traits will be crude and apparent. On others, new Medals have been stamped, by which Means most of the Modern have been made.

There remains only one Fraud more to be taken Notice of, which is practifed by separating the two Sides or Tables of a Medal, by sawing it down the Middle with a very thin File, and then sodering to one of them a different Head or Reverse, which perhaps was struck in another Reign, and by a different Master. But if this cannot be otherwise different Master. But if this cannot be otherwise different Master.

the Edge; for the Soder being Silver, it will manifest itself by a fine Silver Thread continued round. Amongst the Coins whose different Sides have been thus fodered together, those of the Emperor Philip, and Otacilia Severa, are particularly taken Notice of. Thus much for Roman Medals. As for the Greek Coins of the Roman Emperors, they are all in: a Manner of bad Masters, and of Brass; very few of them being of Silver, and scarce any of Gold. There are some, but they are rare, which have Greek on one Side, and Latin on the other; and some, though Greek, have entire Latin Inscriptions. In general, they are local, containing the Name of the City or People where they were struck, and recording only what relates to their own Origin, their Rights and Privileges, their Games and religious Worship, or some Singularity respecting themselves; for which Reason the less Use is made of them in the fublequent History. In which, however, (under the Reign of TIBERIUS) so much is said towards the Explanation of them; that to detain the Reader with any further Discourse upon the Subject here, would be altogether unnecessary.

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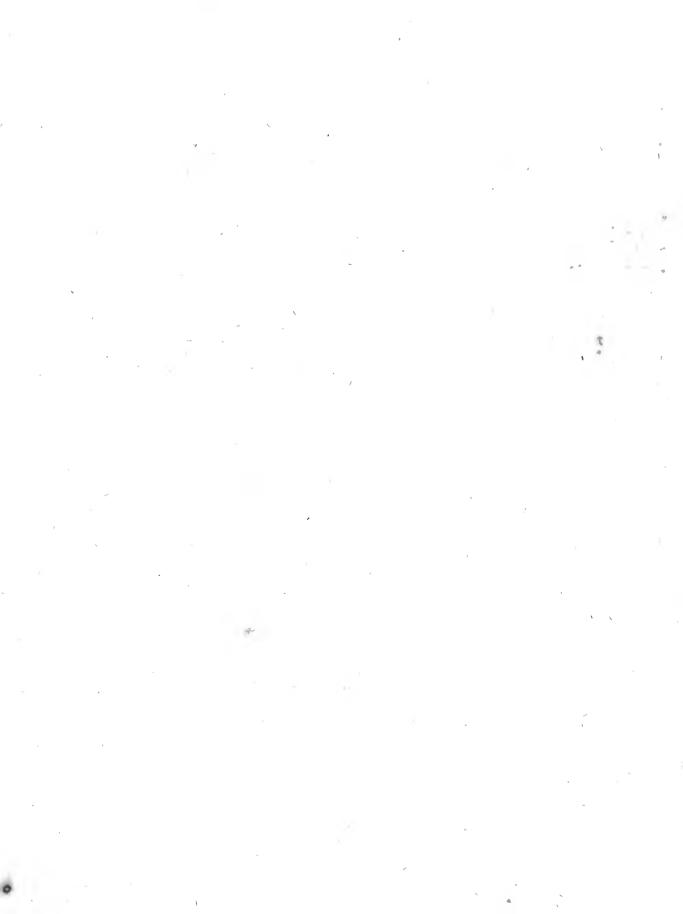
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THE

MEDALLIC HISTORY

IMPERIAL ROME.



NEIUS POMPEY, afterwards surnamed MAG- POMPEIVS M. I NUS OF THE GREAT, was the Son of CNEIUS Pompeius Strabo, who had been Conful in the Year of the City DCLXIV, and after confiderable Suc-VOL. I. cess

POMPEIVS M.

cess in the Italic War, and against the Marian Faction, perished at Length by the Stroke of Lightning. He was born in the Year of the City DCXLVII, in the Confulship of Calus Atilius Serranus and QUINTUS SERVILIUS CAPIO, the same Year which gave Birth to Cicero. Being bred up in, he became the Darling of, the Army. At the Age of three-and-twenty he shone the distinguished Partifan of L. CORNELIUS SULLA on his Return from Afia: for whose Service he then drew together a Body of Forces, no fewer than three entire Legions, from the Territory of Picenum, composed of his Father's old Clients and Soldiers, with which he joined him. On this Account it was that SULLA, even when Dictator, was wont to dismount from his Horse to do Reverence to young Pompey, tho' a private Person; to rise from his Seat and to uncover his Head to him alone.

In this War he defeated CARRINAS, CARBO'S Lieutenant in Italy, and pursued the Consul CARBO himfelf into Sicily, where he put him to Death, though he poured out the most piteous Intreaties for Mercy, and a Flood of Tears. The Consul wore indeed a Character extremely black; yet was this an Usage which he deserved not at those Hands; since to his Protection Pompey had been indebted, even for the Enjoyment of his own Fortunes. So wretched and accursed

the

the most binding Obligations are dissolved before the mad and undiscerning Heat of Party-zeal.

Having put Carbo to Death in Sicily, he quickly expelled his Companion PERPERNA, and secured that Province, less by the Terror of his Arms, than by Dispatch and the Readiness of his Counsels. He was ordered thence into Africa; where CNEIU'S Domitius, who had been proscribed by Sulla, and HIARBAS King of Numidia, had joined their Forces. With them were all the Fugitives from Sicily, who had attended CARBO. They were both defeated in one great Battle; in which the former loft his Life, the latter his Crown and Liberty. Pompey was immediately faluted IMPERATOR by the Army, and deferved that Appellation, having transacted the whole Business within the Term of forty Days. He was now but lately turned of four-and-twenty; gathering Laurels at an Age, when most others were beginning to learn the Rudiments of War. At his Return he was met by the Dictator with much Pomp, and faluted by him with the Title of THE GREAT. He demanded a Triumph, and it was granted with some Difficulty, on Account of his Age and the Inferiority of his Order. His triumphal Car was drawn by Elephants, a Spectacle not feen at Rome before. He was the first Equestrian whom

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Pompeivs M. the City had thus honoured. His Advancement to the Senate at those Years was very possible. But he took a Pride in being rather the first Person of the fecond Order, whom the Eyes of his Countrymen had ever beheld triumphant.—No Coin of this Triumph is now extant that we know of.

> After this he defeated Lepidus, who endeavoured to raise new Troubles, and extinguished that Commotion by the Taking of Modena, and the Surrender of Marcus Brutus upon Articles. But these were eluded by the Conqueror in a very dishonest Manner. He dismissed him agreeably to the Terms indeed; and immediately after his Dismission ordered him to be put to Death: which Command was accordingly executed by Geminius.

He was next engaged jointly with Metellus in the Spanish Expedition against Sertorius. He was invested upon this Occasion with Proconsular Authority, though still a private Person. This was done at the Motion of L. Philippus; but not without fome Opposition. It was objected, that it was not customary and regular to send a private Equestrian into the Field as Proconful. But Philippus answered, That, might his Judgment prevail, he should be commissioned not pro consule but pro consuli-Bus; intimating hereby that he was preferable to the two Consuls put together. Nor was this spoken

by Way of Reflexion upon the Chief Magistrates of Pompeivs M. that Year; for they were Men of Character and Bravery: but to express the singular Esteem which he entertained of his good Conduct. So well established already was the military Reputation of Pom-PEY. This extraordinary Authority is preserved on Medals, both of Gold and Silver, struck by his Questor Cneius Piso in Spain; on one Side of which is the Head of Numa, with this Inscription, CN. PISO PRO Questore; and on the other, the Beak of a Ship, with the Legend MAGNus PRO COS for Confule.

Pl. I. 7.

The bare Credit of the General got together an Army for the Service in forty Days, with which he marched immediately to join Metellus. For he was fond of the Affair, and fet about the Management of it with great Eagerness. He struck out his Road across the Alpes, between the Sources of the Po and the Rhosne. His March was opposed by the Gauls, whom he encountered with Success, and opened a Passage with his Sword. This is called the Transalpine War. He pushed on, and gained the Pyrenæan Mountains. But entering Spain, and joining Metellus about Laurona, the good Countenance of the Enemy inclined him to fit still awhile, and look about him.

For he had now another Sort of Enemy to deal with, Pompeivs M.

with, than he had found in Hiarbas, or Domitius, or Lepidus. Sertorius was, without Question, the most prudent and the bravest of all the Marian Chiefs, and equal in all Respects to any the most celebrated Heroes of Antiquity. It was therefore Praise enough for Pompey, that he preserved his Footing in Spain till the Death of that Commander, who was assalfassinated basely four Years afterwards, by the Contrivance of Perperna; who, by that execrable Fact, insured to Pompey a Victory almost unhoped for, to his own Party inevitable Destruction, and to himself dishonourable Death.

While these Things were going forward, a new and unexpected Commotion in Italy, which, from small and contemptible Beginnings, grew quickly to be formidable and alarming, perplexed the Senate. This is called the Spartacian War, or the Servile Tumult.—A few Gladiators, deserting their School at Capua, opening the Workhouses, and calling the Slaves to their Assistance, grew quickly to be upwards of ten thousand strong. They defeated Clodius Glaber, who was sent against them; and by this Success their Considence and Numbers were inconceivably augmented. They received a Check near Mount Garganus, in Apulia, where one of their Leaders, named Crixus, was cut off, with twenty thousand of his Followers. After this

Loss, Spartacus marched with the rest towards the Alpes, as intending to enter Gaul, and by the Way defeated Lentulus the Consul. But his Passage was still barred by Cassus Varus, the Proconsul, who shared however the Fate of Lentulus, being vanquished near Modena, his Camp taken, and himself hardly escaping. The Gladiator now no longer thought of a Retreat, but made himself Master of many Places, and deliberated concerning an Attempt to be made upon Rome itself.

It was therefore judged necessary to commission Marcus Licinius Crassus to this Service, at the Head of all the Roman Strength in Italy: for the Case was become desperate. He first engaged an Army of the Slaves, led by Granicus, whom he flew, with five-and-thirty thousand of his Associates. He next advanced upon Spartacus, who retreated before him into the Bruttian Territory, the very extreme Point of Italy. Shut up in this Corner, they endeavoured to escape into Sicily by Means of Floats of Tubs and Hurdles, and what else they could find, fastened together with Twigs and Rushes. But these were rendered useless, by the Rapidity of the Stream in that narrow Strait. At last therefore, resolving to make a Virtue of their extreme Necessity, they desperately, to the Number of forty thousand, broke out upon their Enemies, and died like Men, with .

Pl. I. 8.

Pompeivs M. with their Swords in their Hands; Spartacus himfelf being slain, bravely fighting at the Head of For this Success Crassus was honoured with the Ovation only, because it was a Victory gained over Slaves. But to add a brighter Lustre to it, he obtained a special Decree of the Senate, to exchange the Myrtle for the Laurel Crown, which is therefore conspicuous on the Reverse of his Denarius.

> Five thousand, however, of the Followers of Spartacus, had the Fortune to escape; but, after having marched the Length of Italy, were met with, and cut off, by Pompey, who was now returning from Spain with his victorious Troops.

> This great Commander was now allowed a Triumph for his Success in Spain. On the last Day of December, therefore, he entered Rome a second Time in his triumphal Car, being yet of the Equestrian Order. But he had before, and Crassus with him, by his Interest, been elected Consul, though absent, and in all Respects unqualified, the Laws being dispensed with in his Favour. The Day after he had triumphed with the highest Splendor, he entered the Senate with the Fasces borne before him; prefiding in that honourable Court the first Day of his Admission into it. Who then would not wonder that he, who through so many extraordinary Commands had been raifed to the fupreme Dignity,

Dignity, being neither of legal Years, nor having Pompeivs M. before discharged any Magistracy, should afterwards rather confound all Things, and involve his Country in a Civil War, than permit CASAR, at the Head of his victorious Forces, to petition for a second Consulate in Absence. So easy it is for some Men, directed by Pique, or Prejudice, or Ambition, while they allow nothing to others, to pardon all Things to themselves. The Medal, given by Goltzius on this Occasion, has the Head of ROMA, armed with an Helmet, and appears by the Title to have been struck by his Lieutenant Poblicius, invested with Prætorian Authority, Marcus POBLICIus LEGatus PRO PRatore. On the Reverse is represented the Hero, with his right Foot on the Beak of a Ship, extending a Palm Branch to the Figure of Hispania, armed with Spear and Shield, as that Country is usually represented upon ancient Coins. The Legend is CNeius MAGNVS IMPerator. The land the

The Election of Crassus was a Thing extraordinary too; it not having been usual to exchange the Præture immediately for the Consulate. But there were some special Considerations which made it neceffary for Pompey, who governed all, to receive him, who neither loved his Person, nor his Greatness, for his Collegue. He had undergone a severe Perfecution in the same Cause, himself being obliged Pl. I. 9.

Pompeivs M.

to fly for Safety, when his Brother was flain, and his Father put an End to his own Life, under the cruel Administration of MARIUS and CINNA. So that the extraordinary Sufferings of his Family might admit of an unusual Claim. He was besides so rich as to command Respect, being thence commonly furnamed Dives, or THE WEALTHY; using himself to say, that, "No Man was rich, but who "could maintain an Army at his own Expence:" abounding in Slaves skilled in every Art and Occupation, whose Labours brought him an immense Revenue, and whose vast Numbers made him formidable. Avaricious he was (which led him to that Expedition against the Parthian, which in the End proved fatal to him) yet extremely popular; being of easy Friendship, eloquent, and ready to assist with his Patronage all Persons in Distress, without being nicely inquisitive on what Account they were fo: and had but now gained great Glory by having extinguished the Spartacian War even at their Doors.

To these Consuls were the People indebted for the Restoration of the Tribunitial Power, which had been much abridged by Sulla. Palicanus of Picenum, who had been chosen Tribune, a Man rather loquacious than eloquent, but of Talents very taking with the Multitude, had with much

Vehemence contributed to this Defign. His Suc- POMPEIVS M. cess gave Occasion to the Striking of some Silver Coins with the Rostra expressed, and the Title PALIKANVS. aThis brought much Censure on Pompey, and many Suspicions arose, that it was intended to pave the Way for him, by the Favour of the People (when his Year should expire, and he should find himself at the Head of a Province with an Army) to absolute Power. But to wipe off all Imputations, he fwore folemnly and publicly, that, "when his Magistracy was ended, he would " take the Command of no Province whatfoever."

This Oath Pompey kept laudably, continuing at Rome for three Years as a private Person, when he was honoured with an extraordinary Commission. For at this Time the Infolence and Power of the Pirates, who infested every Part of the Mediterranean, was grown to such Height that it was absolutely necessary for the Romans, who alone were able to do it, to contrive some Means of restoring the Intercourse, and relieving the Commerce, of Mankind by Sea. A farther Inducement for them was, that these public Enemies are now said to have acted by Commission from Mithridates King of Pontus. These Plunderers had made themselves Masters of many Places on the Continent, not even abstaining from the Coasts of Italy, having burned 11 (7)

Pompervs M. the Roman Fleet in the very Port of Offia, and intercepted all Supplies of Provision bound for Rome. Their feveral Fleets were ranged under proper Leaders, and they seemed to act in Consequence of a general Confederacy. Their Numbers were become formidable by an Accession of all the desperate and abandoned from the maritime Regions of Europe, Afia, and Africa. From the fingle Harbour of Seleucia, now called Agliman, in Cilicia, hath come forth a powerful Army of Pirates with a thousand Ships, fo proudly rigged, as that many of them had their Sails of Purple, the Tackling of Gold Thread, and the Oars garnished with Silver, Marks of the Spoils of above four hundred Cities.

Therefore Aulus Gabinius, one of the new Tribunes, preferred as Law for the Appointment of fome one Commander for the Management of the Piratic War. By this Law the Person to be appointed was to "have under him fifteen Lieu-"tenants; the Command of the Seas, Islands. " Coasts, Armies, and Fleets of the Roman People, wheresoever stationed or dispersed; the Liberty " of taking what Sums, and raifing what further " Forces he pleased for this Service; with Proconsular Power throughout all the Provinces "fifty Miles inland; for three Years." This was giving little less than the absolute Sovereignty of the known

known World into the Hands of one Man! POMPEY POMPEYS M. indeed was not at first proposed by Name: yet it was manifest on the first Mention of the Thing that he would be made choice of. For fince the Restor ration of the Tribunitial Authority, he was become the Idol of the People, and deemed the Patron of their Liberties. The Point was therefore hotly purfued, and at Length carried with the Nomination of Pompey, notwithstanding a strenuous Opposition from two other Tribunes, and the Senate in general. The Success of this Scheme made the Fortune of Gabinius the Proposer, who, but for this, induced by his own Wants and Wickedness, must have turned Pirate himself.

Never was the Prudence of this illustrious Commander more eminent than in the Conclusion of this Naval Expedition. To the numerous Fleets of his own providing, he added those of the confederate and experienced Rhodians. He first of all cut off the Retreat of the Pirates into the Ocean or Black Sea; Tiberius Nero guarding the Straights-Mouth with a strong Squadron; Porcius Cato that of the Propontis with another. His other Lieutenants were ordered, with their feveral Navies, to fecure all the Bays and Gulphs, both North and South, from the Coasts of Syria and Egypt to those of Spain and Barbary. Himself took upon him the

Pompeivs M. Care of the Sea of Cyprus and Cilicia, the Fountain of the War and general Receptacle of the hostile Fleets. And the whole Disposition was such as promised the utter Extirpation of this Grievance for the future.

> The Enemies, feeing that inevitable Ruin impended over their Heads, drew their Forces together; hoping to obtain Mercy, by complimenting Pompey with an easy Victory, and then furrendering at Discretion. After having, therefore, endured one Shock from the Roman Vessels, they instantly threw away their Weapons, and Oars, and, lifting up at once their Voices, with the Gesture, and in the usual Tone of Suppliants, begged for Quarter. This was granted; the Conqueror removed them to Settlements (a wife Provision) in which they and their Families might live without Fear of starving; and at a Distance from the Sea, lest the Prospect of that Element should tempt them to fresh Rapines.

> What shall we most admire in this Transaction? The speedy Execution of it? for which Preparations were made at the End of Winter; the Expedition undertaken in the Spring; the Whole concluded, and all Cilicia annexed to the Roman Empire in the Summer, within the nine-and-fortieth Day after Pompey's Embarkation at Brundusium.

Or its Felicity? for not a Ship was loft. Or the POMPEIVS M. Perpetuity of its good Effect? for the Seas were afterwards free from Pirates.

The Memory of this extraordinary Commission granted by the People to Pompey (which the Senate were obliged to ratify) and of the confequent Victory, is preserved by several Coins, struck on the Occasion, which are offered to the Inspection of the curious Reader. These are such only as were struck by the Officers employed under him. So that the Reader must not expect to find here more than we can properly give him. For those which are referred to on this Occasion by the Commentators on Velleius (See the Variorum Edition by Burman, Lug. Bat. 1744, page 264) are applicable only to Sextus Pompey. Our Reasons for this Affertion will appear in the Reign of Augustus. The first was struck by Cn. Pi/o, one of Pompey's Proquestors, and bears the Head of Numa on the Face of it: the Reverse being the Beak of a Ship, with MAGNus PRO. COSuli: the Second by Varro, Pl. I. 11. another of his Proquæstors, and at the same Time one of his Lieutenants. It has the Head of the God TERMINUS, and for the Reverse, a Sceptre. Eagle, and Dolphin, to intimate the Dominion of the Sea, with the same Title in the Exergue.

In the next Year, which was the Year of the City

Pl. I. 10-

POMPEIVS M. City DCLXXXVII, Caius Manilius, one of the Tribunes, published a Law to enable all Freedmen to vote in the Tribes promiscuously with their Patrons. This would have raifed fuch as had been lately Slaves, not barely to a Level with their Masters, but would have given them, in a great Measure, the Command of those who made them free. He was therefore vehemently opposed not only by the Senate but the Commons themselves, who were grievously incensed against him for his Endeavour. Struck with Terror at the violent Indignation of the People, he then strove to turn the Odium of the Scheme upon Crassus, and others in Power. But when this Pretence failed, for none believed him, he refolved, by a new and bold Attempt, at once to recover the Favour of his Constituents, and consult his own Interest. He considered how much above the World Gabinius was, by the great Regard which Pompey paid to him; and how transcendently powerful, amongst the People, the Influence of this latter. Always venal, therefore, and the Assistant of another's Power, he preferred a Law, which from him was afterwards called the Manilian Law, by which the War in Asia with Mithridates and Tigranes, with the Command of all the Provinces and Forces there, was added to the Commission of Pompey, then in Cilicia.

But if the Power delegated to Pompey was before Pompeivs M. too great, this made it exorbitantly fo: for now it wanted nothing of absolute Dominion. Great and worthy Magistrates were hereby stript of their Governments before the Expiration of their Term, to aggrandize one who was too great already. This was duly represented. But the Prejudice of the People, encouraged by the Persuasions of Casus CESAR, afterwards Dictator, and of Cicero, then Prætor of the City, rendered all Opposition vain. CESAR defired, by promoting the popular Measure, to endear himself to the People, whom he perceived to gain Ground upon the Fathers; and looked upon every extraordinary Grant as a Precedent for, and Inlet to, his own future Advancement. Cicero, by the Power of his Eloquence, which was indeed wonderful, affected to govern the Republic, and, on this particular Occasion, to manifest his own Weight and Importance to whatever Party in the State he should think proper to espouse. And, as the Measure was exceedingly grateful to the People, he had Reason to hope that his Encouragement of it might forward his Petition for the Consulate. But the Plea in public was, that "the Mithridatic "War, in its Kind necessary, and for its Greatness " hazardous, could not fo well be entrusted to any " Person as to Pompey, whose Military Skill, Va-"lour, Vol. I.

Pompeivs M.

" lour, Authority, and Felicity, they had so large "Experience of already." But the Orator, who had hitherto taken Part with and defended the Nobility, could not now escape the Imputation of Lightness and Inconstancy, being deemed a Deserter by the Patricians.

However, the Law passing, Pompey lost no Time, nor neglected any Means, that might enable him to answer the Expectations and Wishes of his Citizens. He contracted an Alliance with Phraates the Parthian, who invaded the Dominions of Tigranes, while himself entered Galatia with a great Army. Here Lucullus met him, and endeavoured to persuade him, that "there was no further Need of "the Sword; that himself had sufficiently humbled the Enemy; and that the Commissioners (for such had been ordered from Rome) might easily "transact the rest."

But Pompey, after publishing an Edict which forbad Obedience to Lucullus, marched into Armenia, where he twice defeated the King, and received the Submission of Tigranes. While he was thus adding Glory to himself, and enlarging the Roman Conquests, his Friend Manilius, at Home, the Minister of his Ambition, was, on the Expiration of his Tribunate, accused of Felony before Cicero the Prætor. The Accusation was supposed

posed to be set on Foot by the Nobility, for the Ser- POMPETVS M. vice which he had done to Pompey. The Plebeians were therefore greatly displeased, and much more fo, when the Prætor gave him but the following Day to provide for his Defence. For this Cicero excused himself to the People, as intending to be ferviceable to the Accused in his Capacity of Prætor, before his Office should expire (as it would within two or three Days) and engaged himself, to their great Satisfaction, to become his Advocate. But the Trial was prevented by the Hurry and Confusion occasioned by domestic Troubles.

For at this Time the Citizens were alarmed with the Apprehensions of a Conspiracy against the State. P. Autronius Pætus and P. Cornelius Sulla, Consuls elect, being found guilty of Corruption, were now superseded in that high Office by their Accusers, L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus. It happened also that Catiline, just returned from his Prætorian Province in Africa, was now forbidden to stand Candidate for that Honour. All these, therefore, together with Cneius Piso, a noble Youth of confummate Boldness, great Necessities, and a factious Spirit, joined in the horrid Design of affaffinating the new Confuls on the first of January, even in the Capitol, of seizing the Fasces in Consequence, and then of fending Pi/o with an Army to

Pompeivs M. govern the two Spains. This being discovered. they transferred the murderous Design to the Nones of February following; when it was only prevented by the Over-hastiness of Catiline in giving the Signal to his Affociates a little unseasonably. The Senate were however glad to fend Pi/o afterwards, at the Recommendation of Crassus, with a Commisfion into Spain, purely to have him out of the Way. The Discovery and Disappointment of this Plot rendered Catiline desperate, and put him upon that wild Scheme which, in its Defeat, contributed fo much to the Glory of Cicero two Years after.

> The following Year L. Julius Cafar and C. Marcius Figulus Thermus were Consuls. We have the Denarius of the former of these Consuls, which we have inferted; tho' I should rather imagine it to have been struck for the Father, who was Conful and one of the Generals of the Commonwealth in the Marsic or Social War. On one Side is the galeated Head of ROMA, with the Title CAESAR: on the other, the Conful is represented in a bigated Car drawn by two Cupids, with a Lyre in the Area, intimating the Harmony of Love: the Exergue. Lucius IVLIus Lucii Filius. He was the near Kinfman of him who was afterwards Dictator, and now Ædile; in the Discharge of which Office he conciliated to himself, more than ever, the Favour of

Pl. I. 12.

the People. In the Course of the Year he became Pompeivs M. a Judge of Enquiry for the Profecution of Bravo's or Affaffins. In this Number he included those who had been concerned in the Execution of the Persons proscribed by Sulla. And amongst these was Catiline, who had been very cruelly active in those unhappy Times. He was however befriended by Catulus, and the rest of the Nobility, and by their Interest acquitted. Yet the Accusation itself made him much worse, and was a further Incitement to the desperate Enterprize in which he was engaged; for, notwithstanding these Rebuffs, he had the Confidence to stand Candidate for the Consulship at the Close of the Year, tho' his Conspiracy beganthen to be publicly talked of.

This was the Beginning of the second Year since Cicero's Præture, and the forty-third of his Age; the Year in which he was qualified by the Roman Laws for the highest Magistracy. And of him it is worthy to be remarked, that he obtained all his-Honours in the proper Year of fuing for them. And at present the general Dependence of the Citizens for Safety and Protection against the Wiles and Audacity of the Conspirators was so entirely fixt upon his Diligence and Capacity, that he was proclaimed first Consul (C. Antonius being his Collegue) not so much by the fingle Declaration of the Heralds.

Pompeivs M. Heralds employed on such Occasions, as by the consenting Voice of the whole Roman People. Their Pl. I. 13. Denarii are yet extant. That of Cicero has the galeated Head of ROMA, so inscribed; and on the Reverse, the quadrigated triumphal Car, for his Victory afterwards in Cilicia, the Legend being Marcus Pl. I. 14. TVLLIus. That of Antony has the Head of Mercury, with C. ANTONIVS M. F. PRO COS.; and on the Reverse, Sacrificial Instruments, with

PONTIFE.

They were not deceived. His Address and Diligence answered all their Expectations. By his artful Behaviour he sisted out every Circumstance of the Conspiracy, and kept his wavering Collegue within Bounds. By his Eloquence and Firmness he forced the Head of it from the Senate and the City: obtained a Decree for the Condemnation of his principal Accomplices, whom he executed in Prison; an Act, however, which was unconstitutional, and which nothing but the last Necessity could justify: by his Management secured the Defeat and Death of Catiline, and deserved the glorious Title of Father of his Country.

Lucullus now triumphed, tho' three Years later than he should have done (through the Opposition of his Enemies) for his Successes against Mithridates, exposing in the Procession a Golden Statue of that

Monarch fix Foot high, his Shield of inestimable Pompeivs M. Value, adorned with precious Stones, and an amazing Profusion of Wealth. He gave after it a most magnificent Entertainment to the whole Roman. People, and the Inhabitants of the neighbouring This Triumph is perpetuated on a Silver Coin struck on this Occasion, with the Head of Roma covered with an Helmet; and on the Reverse, the Figure of the Conqueror in a triumphal quadrigated Car, holding a Sceptre, with the Inscription. L. LICINIVS, LVCVLLVS, PR. COS.

Pl. I. 15:

The next Year C. Julius Cæsar was Prætor of. the City, but degraded for supporting Metellus, one of the Tribunes, in Opposition to the Senate. This vehemently inflamed the People, who were eager to restore him by Violence, and were with Difficulty restrained by CESAR himself. This unexpected Moderation fo charmed the Senate, that they cancelled their own. Decree, and reinstated him. with much Honour and Applause.

A Decree of the Senate also passed for the Profecution of all Persons concerned in the Conspiracy of Catiline. C. Julius Cæsar was accused as one. of these, by L. Vectius the Informer, before Novius. Niger, who had been appointed one of the Inquisitors on this Occasion. But he was acquitted by the Testimony of Cicero; and the Informer, after

being

POMPEIVS M. being roughly handled by the People, was cast into Prison. Nor did the Inquisitor escape the same Punishment, for having suffered a superior Magistrate to be fummoned before him.

> The fame CESAR was at this Time PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, having carried that high Dignity from his Competitors Q. Catulus and P. Isauricus, two of the greatest Men in the Republic. And in the House of the Chief Pontiff, or of one of the superior Magistrates, were performed the religious Ceremonies of the Good Goddess, as the Women's peculiar Deity was called. To these no Man was ever admitted, and even the Pictures of all male Animals were kept covered during the Solemnity. This Year the House of Cæsar was made Use of, into which his Wife found Means of introducing a young debauched Patrician, named P. Clodius, who was become her Favourite, in Woman's Apparel, during the Celebration of the Mysteries, in order to an Intrigue. This was Pompeia, the Daughter of Pompeius Rufus, who appears by his Coins to have been Consulat the same Time with Sulla the Dictator. But the rash Intruder was discovered and profecuted, and a Divorce enfued. In the Course of the Profecution, when Cæsar, who admitted that she had not in Fast been guilty, was asked, Why then he had divorced her? his Answer was, that,

Pl. I. 16.

" the Wife of CESAR should not even be suf- Pompeivs M. " pected."

In the mean Time Pompey had been very fuccessful in Asia. Mithridates, whose Spirit was greatly superior to his Fortune, even in the broken State of his Affairs, had entertained the grand Defign of croffing the Boristhenes, and breaking into Italy by the Countries along the Danube and the Save. But his putting to Death some of his Children and Kinsmen, whose Fidelity he suspected, was the Occasion of his own Ruin in the Midst of all his mighty Preparations; for his Son Pharnaces, terrified with these Executions, and judging himfelf not fafe fo long as his Father lived, engaged in a Conspiracy against him. But the Discovery of the Design produced an Order from the King for his Apprehension. Pharnaces however had the Addrefs to gain over those who were fent to seize him, and, drawing together the Soldiers in his Interest, he marched immediately at the Head of them, and fecured the Royal Palace. The King, finding no: Way to escape, endeavoured to dispatch himself with Poison, with which he was always provided. against such an Accident. But his continual Use of Antidotes made the Potion harmless: so that he fell by the Sword of Bitætus, a Gallic Soldier in his Service, whom he entreated to put an End to his Affliction. Vol. I. E

POMPEIVS M.

Pl. I. 17.

Pl. I. 18.

Affliction. Thus fell Mithridates, surnamed Eupator, a Prince of fine Parts of Understanding, vigilant, active; of great Conduct and Bravery, to which his Fortune was for some Time equal: of fuch Industry, and so happy Strength of Memory, as to make himself Master of the two-and-twenty different Languages in use amongst the Nations which he governed. He joined to these Endowments great Skill in the Sciences, particularly that of Botany: his Writings on which Subject were preserved as an invaluable Treasure. One of his medical Compositions, bearing his Name, is in Use at this Day. Some of his Coins have reached our Times, as well as those of his Son Pharnaces; who, on the Death of his Father, made his Submission to Pompey, and was rewarded with the Realm of Bosphorus.

That fortunate Commander was now victorious over Aretas the Arabian King (who afterwards furrendered himself) and carried his Ensigns into Judæa. He besieged the Temple at Jerusalem, which he took, and entered into the Holy of Holies. He carried Aristobulus in Chains, and bade Hircanus reign. In this War Bithynia, Cappadocia, and the Part of Cilicia not before subject to the Romans, Syria, Phænicia, Palestine as far as the Euphrates, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Ionia;

Ionia: all Afia between the Palus Mæotis, the Pompeivs M. Caspian, the Red Sea, and the Ocean, was either recovered or now first conquered, and submitted to the Greatness of Pompey: and in the several Regions (not reduced into the Form of Roman Provinces) Kings and Tetrarchs governed by his fovereign Appointment. These Victories were perpetuated by feveral Coins, some of which are still to be met with in the Cabinets of the Curious, with the Head of Pompey, and the Inscription IMP. CN. MAGN.; and on the Reverse, the Name of M. MINATius SABINus, one of his Lieutenants Proquestore in Afia.

PI. I. 19.

He returned triumphant to Rome in the Beginning of the Year of the City DCLXXXXII. Out of the rich Spoils which he brought, he erected a stately Temple to Minerva, with a most magnifieent Inscription, purporting that in this Expedition he had routed, flain, and taken of Men, two millions one hundred and eighty-three thousand; had funk or taken of Ships eight bundred and " forty-six; had subjected of Towns and Castles " one thousand five hundred and thirty-eight, and conquered all the Countries from the Lake " Maotis to the Red Sea."

While Pompey was returning to Rome, CESAR was preparing to quit it for a Time. But of this great Man. POMPEIVS M.

Man, whose Importance began now to be taken good Notice of, it is necessary for us to say something further. He was the Son of Caius Julius Cafar, who had discharged the Office of Prætor, and died suddenly one Morning in the Act of putting on his Shoes. He was of the Age of Sixteen when this happened, and the following Year was created Flamen Dialis, by Marius and Cinna. The former had married his Aunt. as himself did the Daughter of the latter, by whom he had his Daughter TULIA; nor could all the Authority of the victorious Sulla induce him to part with her. He was therefore stript of his Priesthood, his Wife's Fortune, and his own hereditary Estate, and obliged to conceal himself till his Peace was made (not without Difficulty) at the Entreaty of the Vestal Virgins, and of Mamercus Æmilius and Aurelius Cotta, his Friends and Kinsmen. He made his first Campaign in Asia, under M. Thermus; and at the Siege of Mitylene merited a Civic Crown. That Commander's Son is thought to have stamped this Transaction afterwards on the Reverse of his Coins, in Honour of CESAR. It was rumoured that he had subjected himself, during his stay in Afia, to the unnatural Lust of Nicomedes, King of Bithynia: But to this, and other Calumnies, plentifully heaped upon him by the Emissaries of Catulus, Cicero, Cato, and others, at that Time

his

Pl. I. 20.

his Enemies, Cafar, in his Confulhip, gave this Pourtive M. general Answer, "that many People made it their Fashion to calumniate their Betters, that they might excite Contention, and thew themselves " fuch as they truly were; but that, for his Part, " he disdained a Contest with such Persons." He served also for a short Time under Servilius Isauricus, in Cilicia, returning to Rome upon the Death of Sulla. After the Defeat of Lepidus, finding all Things quiet, he retired to Rhodes, in order to attend the Lectures of Apollonius Molo, a famous Master of Oratory, whose Instructions were likewise imbibed by Gicero, Torquatus, Favonius, and others. In his Passage he was taken by the Pirates, in whose Power he continued near forty Days, with only his Physician and two Servants, having dispatched away the rest of his Attendants, to procure Money for his Redemption. Being fet on Shore, upon the Payment of 50 Talents, he got together some Vessels, and instantly pursued his Captors, whom he took and punished with Death, exposing their Bodies upon the Cross, as he had often jestingly threatened them. After some Time, as Mithridates was laying waste the neighbouring Continent, he affembled some Troops in Asia, and drove the King's Governor from that Province. On his Return to Rome, he was chosen a Military Tribune, and connected himself with.

POMPEIVS M.

with the Party who were for restoring their full Power to the Tribunes of the People. In his Quæstorship he lost his Aunt Julia, the Widow of old Marius, and his Wife Cornelia, whose Funeral Orations he made in Public, as was then customary. In his Eulogy of the former, he spoke thus pompoully of his Family: "The Descent of my Aunt "JULIA is, by the Mother's Side, from Kings, by "the Father's, from the immortal Gods: for from "Ancus Marcius are the Marcii Reges, which " (MARCIA) was her Mother's Name; and from "VENUS are the JULII, which Family we are. There " is therefore, in our Descent, both the Sanctity " of Kings, who are most powerful amongst Men, " and the Augustness of the Gods, in whose Power are Kings themselves." Hence we observe upon the Marcian Coins the Heads of Ancus Marcius, and of Numa, whose Grandson he was; and on the Julian, the VENUS GENETRIX, having on the Reverse Eneas, the Father of Julius, bearing on his Shoulders Anchises, and the Palladium in his Right Hand. His next Wife was Pompeia, already spoken of. As Quæstor, the Farther Spain fell to him. When at Gades, on seeing the Statue of Alexander the Great, he is faid to have lamented his Unhappiness in having yet atchieved nothing great, at an Age when Alexander had conquered the World. Having obtained

Pl. II. 1.

Pl. II. 2. Pl. II. 3.





obtained his Discharge, he endeavoured to inflame Pompeivs M. the Latin Colonies to Sedition; and, that failing, is faid to have had fome Concern in the feveral Conspiracies of Sulla and Autronius, of Piso and Catiline; though much more feems to have been laid to his Charge than he was really guilty of. In his Ædileship, he secured to himself the Favour of the People, through which he endeavoured to obtain for himself the rich Province of Egypt, as the Alexandrians had given great Offence by expelling their King Ptolemy, the Father of Cleopatra, a Friend and Ally. But in this Attempt he was opposed by the whole Body of the Nobility; whose Authority, in Return, he made it his Business to lessen and impugn by all possible Means. To convince them of his Resolution, he restored the Trophies of his Uncle Marius over Jugurtha and the Cimbrians. His Works, and the Entertainments which he gave, during his Discharge of that Office, were excesfively magnificent. By thefe, and other Arts of Corruption, (which of every Sort abounded at that Time, in Defiance of all Law) added to an unbounded Generosity on all Occasions, he had contracted an immense Debt: insomuch that, having now passed through his Præture, and preparing to fet out for his Province of the Farther Spain (comprehending Portugal and Andalusia) he was prevented

Pompeivs M.

prevented by his Creditors. On this Occasion Crassus was his Bail for more than one hundred and fixty thousand Pounds Sterling. This done, he left Rome with Precipitation.

It was not to be expected that one of CESAR's Ambition should be inactive in his Province, when an Opportunity offered, or could be found, of fignalizing himself. The Country was overrun with Freebooters and Banditti from the neighbouring Parts. For the more effectual Extirpation of these. he commanded the Mountaineers to descend from their Fortresses, and fix their Habitations in the Plain. This, as he expected, threw them into Arms. But they were foon defeated; as were the several Nations successively subdued by him as far as to the Ocean. For these Exploits he was faluted IMPERATOR by the Army. Nor was he less distinguished by the Arts of Peace than those of War, if we may credit Cicero, who fays, that he most highly favoured and obliged the City and People of Gades, deciding their Disputes and Controversies, making Laws for their better Government, and, in the Place of their innate Barbarism, introducing sound Discipline, and polite Manners. From Spain he brought with him Wealth enough for the Discharge of all his Debts, which amounted to more than a: Million and a Half of our Money. He now in-

tended to petition for a Triumph, and made great Pompeivs M. Preparations accordingly, but, finding that incompatible with his other Design of standing for the Consulate, he dropped his former Intention, and applied himself with unwearied Diligence to the latter: preferring the Possession of substantial Power and Authority to the Glare of Pomp and Honour.

At this Time Faustus Sulla, the Son of the Dictator, gave Gladiatorian Shews, and a fumptuous Entertainment to the People, in Consequence of his Father's Will. Some Coins were struck by him in Honour of his Father upon this Occasion, with the Inscription FAUSTUS FELIX, having the Head of Luna or Diana, with the Lituus behind her; and on the Reverse, the Figures of Jugurtha bound, Bocchus enthroned, and Sulla holding out to him the Palm of Peace. The Head of Luna upon this Denarius seems to allude to what Plutarch writes, that this Goddess appeared to him in a Dream, and delivered into his Hands the Thunder and Lightning, with which it seemed to him that he then struck and destroyed his Enemies. The Lituus is the Infigne of the Augurate: and the Figures of the Reverse were engraven on the Ring which he always wore and fealed with. Thus Plutarch and Pliny. But the former, in his Life of Marius, says parti-Vol. I. cularly F

Pl. II. 4.

Pompeivs M. cularly that King Bocchus, in order to do Sulla a Pleasure, had presented three such Statues in Gold. to be fet up in the Capitol; and that at the Time of Confecration, Marius, who looked upon it as a Derogation from his Glory in the Conquest of Numidia, came in a Hurry to disturb the Ceremony, whom Sulla resolutely withstood; and that this was the real Foundation of that dreadful Civil War which enfued.

> Pompey had been endeavouring, ever fince his Return from Afia, to have his Acts there ratified and confirmed at home. In which Endeavour he had been strenuously opposed by Lucullus, and most of the Nobility; some resenting his overweening Ambition, and fastidious Treatment of themselves. while others confidered his Authority and Popularity as much too great already for a free Republic. He therefore came readily into the Measures proposed to him by CASAR. These were, that a Reconciliation should commence immediately between POMPEY and CRASSUS; that both should affist CESAR in his Canvass for the Consulate; that afterwards CESAR should have Pompey's Acts confirmed, and all the Affairs of the Commonwealth should be fecretly directed by the joint Interest and Influence of all three. This was the Formation of the first TRIUMVIRATE, and their Fidelity to each other was cemented

FIRST TRIVMVIRATE.

cemented with an Oath; as it was still more closely, First TRIVMVIRATE. in a short Time after, by the Marriage of POMPEY with Julia, the Daughter of CESAR. Their Motives to this League of Union were powerful enough. CESAR was as willing to procure, and Crassus to augment, as Pompey to retain his Dignity. CESAR, by yielding to POMPEY's Glory, improved his own; while the Envy of their common Power was fure to revert upon the other: and CRASSUS was willing to hold that Power, which alone he could not have obtained, by the Authority of POMPEY, and the Strength of CESAR. This gave the fatal Blow to Roman Freedom: nor was less destructive, at different Times, to each of those who formed it. Their feveral Parties prefently united, and carried all before them: and even those who pretended to oppose them, had their feveral private Views. Caro was the only Perfon who acted from a difinterested Principle for the public Good.

CESAR, now Conful, determined to lay hold of every Opportunity that offered for the Augmentation of his Popularity, at the same Time that he professed great Deference for the Senate. To have the Commons at his Devotion, he had Recourse to the old Expedient of an Agrarian Law, and to convince the Fathers of his Sincerity, declared that nothing should

FIRST TRIVMVIRATE. be done in it without their Approbation and Concurrence. By this Law the Lands in Campania were to be purchased by the Public, and divided amongst fuch of the poor Citizens as were the Fathers of three or more Children. But the Law was so qualified, with respect to those who were to be concerned in the Purchase and Division, that no reasonable Objection could be made to it. The Utility of it was generally confessed; and even Cato, at the Head of the Opposition, could find nothing to reprehend in it. For, however faultless, it was opposed, and with much Obstinacy, as an Innovation, merely on the Account of him who formed it, and whose encreasing Popularity was judged extremely dangerous. He had therefore Recourse to the People, before whom Pompey and Crassus approved the Law; and the Tribes readily passed it, notwithstanding the Resistance of his Collegue Bibulus. This Magistrate was at last infulted, driven from the Assembly with his Fasces broken, and forced to remain at Home inactive for the rest of the Year. All the Patricians were obliged to give their Consent to it, and Cicero, by his Refusal to become one of the twenty nominated for the Division of the Lands, incurred the high Displeasure of the Triumvirate, and laid the Foundation of his own Profecution and Banishment.

The following Denarius having the Head of FIRST CESAR, with the S C for Senatus Consulto, bears TRIVMVIRATE. Reference to the Town of Casilinum in Campania, whither a Colony was drawn out in Consequence of this Law: in Remembrance of which Event it was afterwards struck by TIberius SEMPRONIVS GRACCVS, one of the Quæstors Elect. The Figures on the Reverse are, 1. The Ensign of a Co-2. The Eagle of a Legion. 3. A Plough and Scepter: the usual emblematical Descriptions of fuch Deduction.

Pl. II. 5.

To CESAR's Confulfhip and Person must also be referred the Settlement of a Colony at Lanuvium, commemorated in the following Coins, struck some time afterwards. The Head is that of Juno Sospita or Sispita, the Patroness of the Place, who is defcribed by Cicero as bearing a Shield and Spear, with open Sandals, and covered with a Goat-Skin; because Goats, we presume, were the usual Sacrifices offered to her. Underneath are the Names of L. PROCILIVS, who was one of the popular Tribunes three Years after, and of Roscius Fabatus, afterwards one of CESAR'S Lieutenants in Gaul; both Natives of the Place. The Reverse of the first, is the same Goddess in a bigated Car; of the fecond, the Virgin feeding the Serpent facred to that Goddess. This Serpent is said to have left

Pl. II. 6.

Pl. II. 7.

First Trivmvirate.

. T. I.I.

its Retreat yearly, in order to be fed; and the feeding of it by one of the female Inhabitants of the Place, was looked upon as a Sort of Trial of Virginity, and an Omen of Plenty. Properties, in Lib. IV. Eleg. 8. thus describes it:

Hits the short Moment of a Sight so rare,
With wild Amazement frozen, may behold
Lanuvium's Guard his slimy Spires unfold,
And the dark Cavern of his yawning Jaw,
That marks the Passage to his hungry Maw
For annual Food when rising: (Let the Fair,
How such-like Passage she disclose, beware!)
Strange sacred Rite! The Snake, with eager Haste,
Catches the Morsel offer'd to his Taste,
While pale with Fear the tender Female stands,
And the light Basket trembles in her Hands.
If chaste, once more she hasts her Parents dear,
And the Swains cry, "Twill be a fruitful Year."

From this Time Casar referred himself to the Senate no more during his Magistracy, but seemed to govern all Things, by the Favour of the People, with an absolute Sway. He next remitted to the Equestrians a third Part of the Tributes which they were to pay, and so detached that powerful Body from the Senatorian Order. After this, it were almost superfluous to say that the Acts of Pompey were ratisfied, and all Opposition silenced for the present: insomuch that the Wits of that Time stiled

TRIVMVIRATE.

but) of Caius and Jurius Clasar, or of Jurius and Casar. He now took to Wife Calpurnia, the Daughter of Calpurnius Pifo, who succeeded him in the Consulship; and, through Vatinius, a Tribune of his Party, obtained of the People the Government of Cisalpine Gaul, and Illyricum, with three Legions. But, as he intimated a Desire of having the Transalpine Gaul added to his Province, the Senate, not caring that the People should do every Thing for him, prevented them, by conserving this Grant themselves, with the Command of another Legion.

P. Lentulus Spinther, now going out of his Prætorship, obtained the Province of the Hither Spain, through the Interest of CESAR.

The Triumvirs, having taken Umbrage at the Behaviour of Cicero, encouraged his professed Enemy Clodius, who was now one of the popular Tribunes, to proceed against him for the Execution of Lentulus, Cethegus, and others, in his Consulship. He preferred a Law therefore for the Punishment of those who had put to Death any Citizens uncondemned by the People. In Consequence of this, the Orator was forced into Banishment; but recalled, both by the Senate and People, in the Beginning of

First:

the following Year, and received with the highest Honour and universal Applause. Les autal to its d

The same Incendiary, amongst other Laws, passed one for feizing the Effects of Ptolemy, King of Cyprus, a Friend and Ally of Rome; for reducing his Kingdom to a Roman Province, and charging Cato with the Execution of it. An Act of the most oppressive Avarice and tyrannical Usurpation, condemned by all the Historians; a most bitter Reflection upon Roman Integrity; and a Commiffion which the Stoicism of Cato should at all Adventure have refused. But Cato was so far from doing this, that he afterwards opposed Cicero's Endeavour to have the Laws of Clodius rescinded, purely from the Concern which he thereby had in the Province of Cyprus. Indeed some Coins have been Rruck to perpetuate this Commission, on which is the Head of ROMA, with the Inscription M. CATO PRO PRatore. "P. CLODIUS," fays Velleius, in the Senate, " removed M. Caro out of the Way " by a most honourable Title; for he made a Law " for fending him as Quæstor with Prætorian "Power, a Quæstor also being allowed him, to " the Island of Cyprus, to Strip Ptolemy of his "Kingdom, who had deserved this Usage by all " Manner of Vices," &c. For the being Quæstor with

FIRST TRIVMVIRATE.

with Prætorian Power, is the very same Thing as being Quastor proprætore, and must relate to this Transaction. The Truth is, that these admired Advocates for public Liberty, had no Mercy upon the rest of Mankind, but acted upon all Occasions as if they had a Right to make Slaves of all besides themselves.

This Year, being that of the City DCXCV, M. Æmilius Scaurus, and P. Plautius Hypseus, were Curule Ædiles, the Grandeur and Magnificence of whose public Exhibitions had not been equalled in that Age of Luxury. The Scenery of the temporary Theatre (for it was not to stand a Month) raised for this Purpose, is particularly spoken of, as confisting of three Stories, the lowermost of which was lined with Marble, the middle was composed of Glass, and the uppermost of gilded Wainscot. In Front were three hundred and fixty Marble Columns, of the Height of eight-and-thirty Feet, and between them were placed three thousand Statues of exquisite Workmanship, besides a Profusion of the most valuable Pictures, and other Ornaments; the Round of the Theatre itself containing eighty thousand Spectators. The Denarii struck by them on this Occasion, represent on the one Side the Surrender of Aretas, one of the Kings of Arabia, to which Scaurus had compelled that Vol. I. Monarch

FIRST.
TRIVMVIRATE.

Pl. II. 8.

Monarch two Years before, when he was Pompey's Lieutenant in Syria. The suppliant King is on his Knees before him, and presenting a Laurel. The Inscription is M. SCAVRVS. ÆD. CVR. EX. S. C. His Name and Quality are in the Exergue; and the Camel, which is near him, properly represents the Country which he governed. On the Reverse, Hypsæus renews the Memory of his great Ancestor, who took Privernum, by a quadrigated triumphal Car, and Vistory with the Legend, C. HYPSAE COS PRIVER CAPTV: and above, P. HYPSAEVS AED CVR.

Certain Advices being received, that the Helvetians were preparing to leave their own Country,
and intended to march through the Roman Province
into the farther Part of Transalpine Gaul, CESAR,
who was never exceeded by any Man in the soldierly
Qualities of Vigilance and Celerity, hastened to his
Province in the Beginning of April, and before the
thirteenth of the same Month, with one Legion
which he found there, and the Assistance of the
Inhabitants, had drawn a deep Fosse, and raised a
Rampart sixteen Feet high, strengthened with
Castles at proper Intervals, nineteen Miles in Length,
from the Leman Lake to Mount Jura; by which
he effectually barred this Passage to the Helverians.
Leaving the Guard of this to his Lieutenant Labie-

nus, he hastened back into Italy, where, with incredible Dispatch, he raised two new Legions. With these, and three more, which had wintered in the Neighbourhood of Aquileia, he croffed the Alps by the nearest Route, dispersed in several Engagements the Nations that from the Eminences opposed his March, and entered the farther Province on the feventh Day ... Instantly he moved against the Helver tians and their Allies, whose Multitudes he defeated with great Slaughter; and with the fame Success attacked Ariovistus, at the Head of a numerous Army of Germans, the greater Part of whom he cut in Pieces, and drove the rest across the Rhine. In the Pursuit, he had the good Fortune to deliver his Friends, C. Valerius Procillus, and M. Mettius. whom the Germans were dragging off in Chains.

This was the Work of a fingle Campaign, and clouded the Glory of Pompey's Afiatic Victories. P. Crassus, the Son of the Triumvir, was one of Cæsar's Lieutenants in Gaul, and the Commander of his Horse, and did him very eminent Service. He was Prætor in the Year of the City DCXCVI. One of his Coins is still extant, bearing the laurelled Head of the Julian Venus, with the Letters S C, for Senatus Consulto, behind it; and on the Reverse, a Roman Commander standing by the Side of his Horse, with the Legend P. CRASSVS. M. F. He

First Trivmvirate. was slain with his Father in the Parthian Expedition.

Corn being fold in Rome at an extravagant Rate, the Care of supplying the City with that Article was, at the Motion of Cicero, now returned from Exile, committed to Pompey for five Years. with the same Proconsular Power which he had held in the Piratic War. An additional Law was made by Messius the Tribune, by which was annexed the Command of the public Money, a Fleet and Army, and an Authority superior to that of any Provincial Magistrate. He had now also fifteen Lieutenants and two Quæstors, as before. This Commission is implied in the Coin before us, which was struck by C. Piso, and Capio, two of his Quasitors, employed in the Purchase of that Commodity. This Medal bears the laurel'd Head of Pompey the Great. The Infcription is C. PISO CAEPIO. Questores. M. Patin, Rom. Fam. p. 59, was in the Wrong to refer this to the Time of Augustus; for the Curatores Cereales were not appointed in Consequence of any Senatorial Decree (which is the Case here) but by the absolute Authority of the Emperor; nor were they ever stiled Questors, but Ædiles. On the Reverse are the two Quæstors, feated between two standing Ears of Corn; and underneath, AD FRV. EM. EX. S. C. Ad Fruges emendas. Ex Senatús Consulto.

Pl. II. 9.

First Trivmvirate.

In the Campaign of this Year, A. V. DCXCVI. CASAR gained a compleat Victory over the Infurgents of Belgic Gaul, who took the Field, to the Number of one hundred and fifty thousand fighting Men. The Nervii, and their Confederates, who attacked him afterwards by Surprize, and continued the Contest with amazing Obstinacy, were in the End so cut off, that very few remained, except their old Men, Women, and Children; infomuch, that of fix hundred Senators, only three were left alive; and of fixty thousand Combatants, scarce five hundred furvived the general Slaughter. The Atuatici were next subdued, and all the Maritime Nations reduced in the mean Time by his Lieutenants. The Reputation of his Arms brought feveral Ambassadors from beyond the Rhine, who, in the Name of their respective Masters, tendered their Submission, and were ordered to attend the Conqueror early in the Spring. At Rome, these Exploits were judged fo important, that a public Supplication of fifteen Days was decreed; an Honour which no Magistrate had before obtained.

The next Year the Veneti, who had taken Arms again, the Unelli, the Sontiates, and all the People of Aquitain, were reduced by CESAR, or his Lieutenants. But the Morini and Menapii, who were still in Arms, were driven to their Woods and Fast-nesses.

FIRST TRIVMVIRATE. neffes. After which, he quartered his Troops in the Country of the Aulerei and Lexobii, and passing the Alps himself, spent the Winter at Lucca. Hither. his Partifans reforted, to pay their Court to him, in fuch Numbers, that two hundred Senators, and and hundred and twenty Fasces of Proconsuls and Proprætors, have been feen attending his Levee at a Time. Here POMPEY and CRASSUS paid him a Visit likewise. Domitius Abenobarbus, a strong Republican, the fast Friend of Cato, and consequently no Friend to the Proceedings of the Triumvirs, had declared himself a Candidate for the Consulship of the ensuing Year, and publicly boasted that he would abrogate the Command of CASAR. It was therefore agreed among them, that Pompey and Crassus should themselves jointly petition for that Office, and fet Domitius aside; that CESAR's Provinces should be continued to him for five Years longer; that Crassus should have Syria and the Parthian War, and Pompey the Government of the two. Spains, for the same Term, the sport to the

Pompey and Crassus therefore forcibly succeeded. to the Consulate; after which, their several quinquennial Governments, as they had projected, were confirmed to them. The latter of these presently collected a powerful Army, and fet out, before his Consular Year expired, upon his Parthian Expe-2.11

dition;

dition; the dire Event of which lopped off one Branch of the Triumvirate.

TRIVMVIRATE.

Pompey and Cæsar.

In the mean Time, CASAR in Gaul defeated an Army of Germans, who, with their Families, had passed the Rhine, to the Amount of four hundred and thirty thousand Souls. Not content to have destroyed the Invaders, he built a wonderful Bridge in ten Days across that River, and, the first of all the Romans, entered Germany at the Head of his Forces. Having burned and plundered the Country for eighteen Days together, he returned into Gaul. Late as it was in the Summer, he now got together a Fleet, and passed over into Britain; where having landed with Difficulty, and, after a vigorous Resistance from the Natives, accepted their Submission and Hostages, he resitted his shattered Vessels, and returned to the Continent. He now marched against the Morini, whom he subdued. and received the Surrender of the Menapii. For shese extraordinary Successes a Supplication of twenty Days was decreed by the Senate.

Having given Orders for the Building of a Fleet in the Winter, he passed into Illyricum, where he restrained the Incursions of the Pirusta, and, returning speedily to Gaul, lest there Labienus with three Legions and two thousand Horse; while himself set sail for Britain with the same Number of Horse and

Pompey and Cæsar. T

Pomer and

Vessels of every Kind. Having landed, and marched into the Country, he had several smart Engagements with the Inhabitants, who sought gallantly under the Conduct of Cassivelaun; who, moved at length by his ill Success, and the Desection of several Nations, gave Hostages, and submitted.

On his Return to the Continent, CESAR found it necessary, on Account of the Scarcity of Provisions, to distribute his Troops in Winter Quarters more extended and distant from each other than usual. This gave Encouragement to the Gauls to attempt upon them both by Force and Fraud: fo that two of his Lieutenants, with a Legion and five Cohorts under their Command, were circumvented and flain by the Eburones. Another, commanded by Q. Cicero, was closely befreged, and at length relieved by CESAR in Person, who, with feven thousand Men, defeated an Army of fixty thousand. The Fame of this Victory preserved the rest. Yet the Senones, Nervii, and others instigated by them, had the Boldness to infult the Camp of Labienus, but disappeared on the Death of their Commander. of the state of th

This Year Julia, the Daughter of CESAR, and the Wife of Pompey, died, and soon after, the Child of which she had miscarried. This loosened the Bands

Bands of their Society. All this while Pompey Pompey and continued in a Manner absolute at Rome, with an Cæsar.

Army at the Gates, governing the two Spains by his Lieutenants Afranius and Petreius.

CÆSAR, now apprehending a more general Difturbance in Gaul, encreased his Forces, by new Levies, with three Legions and ten Cohorts, Pom-PEY having affifted him with one Legion on this Occasion; and, before the Winter was over, reduced the Nervii once more, as he did, quickly after, the Senones and Carnutes. He next attacked the Menapii, who, feeing their Country laid waste, submitted. While this was doing, the Treviri, who had armed great Numbers of Horse and Foot, were by a Feint defeated and fubdued by Labienus. Cæsar, feeing that they were affisted by the Germans, built a fecond Bridge over the Rhine, and entered Germany. But finding the Country deferted, he returned, and gave up the Eburones to military Execution, inviting all the neighbouring People to share the Plunder of that unhappy Nation. With this View, a large Body of Horse of the Sicambri, passed the Rhine, but were casually diverted from their first Design, to an Attempt upon the Camp of Q. Cicero, which they were hardly preyented from making themselves Masters of, owing Vol. I. H to

POMPEY AND .C.A.SAR.

to the Inattention of the Lieutenant; but finding themselves disappointed, they as suddenly retired.

In the mean Time Rome itself was in a very unquiet State, where the Election of Confuls had been put off for feven Months together, through the Intercession of the Tribunes. These Troubles are faid to have been privately encouraged by Pompey himself. One of the Tribunes went so far as to nominate him Dictator. But this Scheme fell to the Ground, chiefly through the Opposition of Cato; fo that Domitius Calvinus, and Valerius Mefsala, were chosen Consuls for the rest of the Year. But as the Tumults in the City still continued, and were yet further encreased by the Death of Clodius, the great Favourite of the People, who was killed by MILO in the Appian Way; and the Necessity of creating Pompey Dictator was again infifted upon; the Senate judged it more advisable to try a new. Expedient, which was, to have him chosen fole This was done accordingly, in the Year of Conful. the City DCCI.

Information of these Commotions came to CESAR in Cisalpine Gaul, where he spent the Winter. But when the same Advices passed the Alps, they were prefently improved by the Humour of that volatile People, and became the Foundation of a general Infurrection.

Insurrection. It was said, that on these Accounts,

Pompey and Cæsar.

"CESAR would necessarily be detained in Italy; "that the Legions would not dare to move from "their Quarters while he was absent; that should " he return, which was by no Means probable, it were the easiest Matter in the World to prevent " his joining them; that at worst a present Death "were better than perpetual Slavery." The Carnutes were the first that moved. They slew to Gennabum, and massacred every Roman in the Town. The News of this no sooner reached the Arverni, than Vercingetorix, a young Nobleman of the first Quality, endeavoured to inflame the People, and, notwithstanding the Opposition that he met with from his Uncle, and the more fober Part of them, foon got together a Band of desperate Men. was presently joined by the Senones, Parisans, Pictones, Cadurci, Turones, Aulerei, Lemovices, Andes, and the maritime Nations in general, who conferred upon him the chief Command. In a short Time

When CESAR was advised of this, and that Matters were a little settled in the City by the Authority of Pompey, he judged it high Time to pass

bonne.

he was further reinforced by the Accession of the Bituriges, the Rutheni, the Nitiobriges, and the Gabali, and was preparing for an Irruption into Nar-

Pompey and Cæsar.

the Alps; but when he had done this, was as much at a Loss as before. Should he fend for the Legions to come to him, he was fensible that they must fight their Way without their Commander, in whom was all their Confidence. Should he move towards them, his Person was in Danger. But his Presence was absolutely necessary at Narbonne. Thither therefore he went, confirmed the fearful, and fixed Garrisons in all the Places that were nearest to the Enemy. A Part of the Provincial Forces, and a Supply, which he brought from Italy, he ordered to march to the Helvii, who lay upon the Borders of the Arverni. The Enemy, fearing to come within the Circle of the garrifoned Towns, had now retired, fo that he marched thither himself, and thence over the Mountain Cebenna, covered with Snow fix Feet deep, through which the Soldiers were forced to clear their Way, to the Limits of the Arverni, whom he surprized; for they had judged themselves effectually secured by the Interposition of the Mountain, which at that Time was thought impassable even by a fingle Person. Here he left his Forces under the Command of Brutus, promising to return to him in three Days, with Orders that the Horse in the mean Time should scour the Country, and fill it far and wide with Terror. He then set out privately, and with all possible Expedition,

pedition, for Vienne. Having there collected a Body Pompey AND of Horse, he travelled Night and Day to the Lingones, where two Legions wintered. Thence he fent to the rest of his Forces; and had assembled them all, before the Arverni could hear of his Arrival. On Advice of this, Vercingetorix marched to the Attack of Gergovia, a Town of the Boii, and in which they had been fettled by CÆSAR, under the Government of the Ædui, after his Victory over them in the Helvetic War. The Roman General, therefore, leaving two Legions and the Baggage of the whole Army at Agendicum, moved towards the Boii. In his Way, he took Vellaunodunum of the Senones, and facked and burned Gennabum of the Carnutes. When Vercingetorix received Intelligence of his Approach, he raised the Siege of Gergovia, and marched to meet him. Meanwhile CESAR made himself Master of Noviodunum, and was now busied at Avaricum, by the Taking of which he hoped to be in Possession of the whole Country of the Bituriges.

It was now determined in a general Council, by the Persuasion of Vercingetorix, to carry on the War against the Romans in a very different Manner, by preventing their Foraging, intercepting their Provisions, and depriving them of all Means of Subfistence. They judged this easy to be done, by their **fuperior**

CAESAR.

POMPEY AND CÆSAR.

fuperior Strength in Horse, and burning all the Country round about, such Places only excepted as were most capable of Desence. Accordingly, more than twenty Cities of the Bituriges were in Flames at once. But it was thought proper to desend Avaricum.

By these Resolutions the Romans were greatly distressed, wanting Bread for many Days together, and sparingly sustaining themselves with such Cattle as they could procure from very distant Towns. Yet not a Word was heard, unbecoming the Majesty of the Roman People and their former Vic-Nay, when their Commander offered to raise the Siege on that Account, they intreated him not to do it; that under his Conduct for many Years they had received no Dishonour, nor left any Enterprize unfinished; that they would endure any Hardships, sooner than suffer the Blood of their Fellow-Citizens, massacred at Gennabum, to be unavenged. At length the Place was taken by Assault, and, of forty thousand Persons within, scarce eight hundred escaped alive to Vercingetorix, who was encamped in the Neighbourhood. Here CESAR found great Plenty of Provisions, and stayed many Days for the Refreshment of his Army. On the other Side, Theutomatus, King of the Nitiobriges, came to the Assistance of Vercingetorix with a great Body

of Forces; and the Ædui some Time after sell off from their Alliance with the Romans, and joined him.

Pompey and Cæsar.

After several great Feats of Generalship on both Sides, at Gergovia, upon the Elæver, and elsewhere, the Gallic General dismissed all his Horse to their several Countries, charging them to collect the whole Strength of their respective States, and return to his Relief as soon as possible; that he had Subsistence for about thirty Days, or perhaps somewhat longer, using great Frugality. He then, with all the Foot, amounting to eighty thousand Men, shut himself up in Alesa, where he was closely besieged by Cæsar.

At last the expected Succours arrived, consisting of eight thousand Horse, and two hundred and forty thousand Foot. The Action that ensued was very hot, the Besiegers being attacked both from within and from without, and lasted the whole Day. The Gauls were intirely deseated, and, had not the Roman Soldiers been wearied to the last Degree with the Continuance of the Battle, very sew of so great a Multitude could have escaped. The next Day the City surrendered, and their General Vercingetorix was delivered up to the Will of the Conqueror. For these Successes a Supplication of twenty Days was decreed at Rome.

Pompey and Cæsar.

The Popularity of CESAR seems now to have been at the Height in Rome. Pompey therefore judged it absolutely necessary for himself, by all possible Means to establish a Counter-Interest with the Senate. Knowing, therefore, their Aversion to the Power of a fingle Person, he resolved to assume a Collegue in the Consulship, and for this Purpose pitched upon Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio, the adopted Son of Metellus Pius, who had formerly commanded with him in Spain. Scipio was at that Time accused of Corruption; but was at once delivered from Profecution, raifed to the supreme Magistracy, and made the Father-in-law of Pompey. who married his Daughter Cornelia, a Lady of great Beauty. Medals were struck on this Occasion; one of which we have given in the Frontispiece, as copied from the Pembrokian Collection, of the fecond Magnitude. On the Reverse, is the Figure of the Lady, with her Name for the Legend; and in the Area, CNC C for Cnæi Carissima Conjux. Tho' this Moderation of Pompey, in admitting a Partner of his Power, was very pleasing to the Senate, in which Scipio had much Interest, yet the Partiality and Injustice which attended it, were generally condemned.

Pompey now preferred a Law, that no Man should obtain a Consular or Prætorian Province, who had

CASAR.

not been of Consular or Prætorian Dignity for five Pompey and Years: but first of all took Care to have his own Province of Spain continued to him for five Years longer. And, that CESAR might not be offended at these Proceedings, the ten Tribunes of the People were induced by his Influence to get a Law passed, impowering CESAR to stand for the Confulship in his Absence.

At the next Election Cato, who threatened to abrogate the Command of CÆSAR, was by his Interest set aside, and Servius Sulpicius Rufus, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, were chosen Consuls. After which were great Debates in the Senate, Marcellus moving that a Successor should be sent to him before the Time allowed. In this he was opposed by Sulpicius, and at last by Pompey himself. However a Decree passed at length, that CESAR should quit his Province after the Calends of March of the following Year.

In the Course of this Summer, CESAR once more fubdued the Carnutes, and the Bellovaci, whose General was flain; made himself Master of Uxellodunum, which was obstinately defended; received the Submission of the Aquitanians; and finally compleated the Conquest of all Gaul, reducing it into the Form of a Roman Province.

By the late Law of Pompey, Cicero was obliged VOL. I.

POMPRY AND CHESAR.

to leave Rome, the Province of Cilicia and Cybrus being allotted to him. Here we find him at the Head of two Legions, affifted by his Brother Quintus, who had been Cæfar's Lieutenant in Gaul, and joining the martial to the mercurial Talent. For he was no fooner arrived, than he was informed that the Parthians had passed the Euphrates; whom he surprized and defeated on Mount Amanus. He afterwards took feveral Castles, and the strong Town of Pindenissum, after a tedious Siege, and was faluted IMPERATOR by the Army. This entitled him to a Triumph, for which he petitioned on his Return to Rome. But the Civil War, which then broke out, put an End to all Thoughts of this Kind. His Denarius, however, bears the galeated Head of ROMA; and on the Reverse a VICTORY. with a Palm Branch and Wreath, in a quadrigated or triumphal Car; the Exergue, M. TVLLIus, as has been already observed.

CASAR spent the Winter of this Year in Belgic Gaul, governing in Peace the Nations, whom his Valour had subdued, with admirable Prudence; listening favourably to their Grievances, and conciliating their Affections; infomuch, that from this Time they paid him chearful Obedience. Certainly, if we consider the Bravery of the People whom he had to do with, his military Exploits in these Countries,

Countries, for nine Years together, must be allowed Pompey and to have exceeded those of the most celebrated -Heroes of Antiquity.

CÆSAR.

At the next Election L. Æmilius Paullus, and Caius Claudius Marcellus, a near Relation of the last Year's Magistrate, succeeded to the Fasces. CESAR, being advised that these Consuls were little inclined to his Interest: that one of the Censors was utterly averse to him; that Pompey had secured the popular Tribunes in general; and that his Enemies made no Secret of their Defign to strip him of his Government and Command, and reduce him to the Condition of a private Person, judged it high Time to consult his own Safety. He therefore passed the Albs early in the Spring, and from his Residence in Cisalpine Gaul intended his City Affairs. Here he had the Address to bring over the Conful Æmilius Paullus, at the Expence, it is faid, of fifteen hundred Talents. Of the two Cenfors, Appius Claudius Pulcher, and Lucius Calpurnius Piso, the latter was his Father-in-law. But the most active and stirring of the Tribunes, CAIUS SCRIBO-NIUS CURIO was his declared Adversary. young Gentleman was in Family and Fortune eminently conspicuous; of distinguished Parts, and the most popular Eloquence; and one of whom the better Sort had great Expectations. This appears from

POMPEY AND

from Cicero's Epiftles to dime But then his Liberality and Expences were without all Limits; fo that his Debts were immense. This laid him open to the Temptation of Casar, whom he now engaged to ferve; and by whom he was gratified to the Amount of all his Wilhes. When therefore it was proposed in the Senate that Casar's Legions should be discharged, Curio absolutely refused his Affent, unless others also, and Pompey in particular, difmissed the Forces under their Command: fo that the whole Debate was closed with this fingle Resolution, That Pompey and Casar should each of them furnish as Legion for the Parthian War. The former had heretofore affifted the latter with one of his Legions. buWhen therefore the proper Officer applied to Pompey for his Share, he referred him to CESAR; who, in Fact, furnished both; which he chose rather to do than disobey the Order of the Senate. The senate of t

In the Course of the Summer, Appius the Censor was extremely busy in the Execution of his Office, whereby he became, contrary to his own Intentions, very serviceable to Cæsar. For when he noted many of the Equestrian and Senatorian Orders, without the Concurrence of his Collegue, he brought to pass, that all of them joined publicly afterwards the Party of Cæsar. His Indignation

Occasion was protected by Pi/o, and the Conful. Paullus. But, notwithstanding their Opposition, he perfifted obstinately in his Judgment concerning the Tribune, which he rehearfed in full Senate. Paullus, moved with the Indignity of the Fact, rent his Robe. But Marcellus, the other Conful. feizing Curio, with Hopes that for every Enmity to Cæsar, the Fathers would load him with some heavy Decree, demanded their Opinions of him. Curio at first insisted, with some Vehemence, that " it was not the proper Business of the Senate to " engage in any Determinations affecting him, with " whom the Liberties and Privileges of the Roman " People were intrusted." But, observing that a Multitude of the Senators were partly well-disposed to the Interest of CASAR, and partly much afraid of him, he at last permitted the House to take

Cognizance of the Affair; only remarking, that "he was conscious to himself of having acted up"rightly, and for the Service of his Country;
"I therefore give up to you," said he, "my Body
and my Life: dispose of them as you shall judge

"meet." Marcellus, when he had accused him in such a Manner that he made no Question of his being condemned, and yet in a short Time saw him acquitted by very many Voices, rushed out of the

was levelled at Curio in particular, who on this Pompey and CARSAR.

Senate-

CASAR.

POMPEY AND Senate-House in a Rage, and ran into the Suburbs to Pompey; where, by his own Authority, he committed to him the Custody of the City, and the Command of the two Legions above-mentioned. This was Evidence enough of their Design to reduce CESAR by Force, if better Authority should be wanting. They gave a Loose to their Joy therefore, and gloried exceedingly, when at the next Election Caius Claudius Marcellus, and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Crus, were created Consuls; who, with much Acrimony, had professed their Resolution of despoiling CASAR of all his Honour and Dignity. The following Coins represent the joint Consulship of these two distinguished Enemies of CESAR. The JUPITER PROPUGNATOR is in both, with the Eagle and Enfigns of the Legions, and their respective Names. They appear to have been struck by CNeius NERius, one of the City Quæstors of that Year, and a Favourer of their Party. The Reverse of the last has the same Jupiter, with an Altar before him, the Eagle in one Hand, and his Thunder in the other, with the Planetary Figure and the Quæstorian Mark underneath. The Names of the Consuls are on the Face of the one, and the Reverse of the other, L. LEN. C. MARC. COS.

> In Conformity to this Declaration, they no fooner entered upon their Office, than they made their Report

Pl. II. 10.

Pl. II. 11.

CÆSAR.

Report to the Senate concerning the Provinces; Pompey AND and then a Decree passed, at the Motion of Metellus Scipio, the Father-in-law of Pompey, that " Cafar " should disband his Army by a stated Day" (six Months before the legal Time) " or be declared an "Enemy to the Commonwealth." It was determined, that he should not be permitted to stand for the Confulship in Absence, though a Law had passed expressly for that Purpose. Every possible Method was made use of to encrease and encourage the Partizans of Pompey, and intimidate the Friends of CESAR. And when to these extraordinary Proceedings, which bespoke the most inveterate Rancour, Q. Cassius, and M. Antonius, two of the popular Tribunes, opposed their Intercession, they were driven from the Senate and the City. Scipio declared to the Fathers, that Pompey would not be wanting to them, if they would but pursue vigorous Measures: and it was industriously given out, that CASAR'S Legionaries were weary of his Command, and would not follow him, in Case of a Rupture. So that immediately on the Flight of the Tribunes, a Decree passed, as in Times of the most imminent Danger, "that the Confuls, and Pompey the Pro-"consul, the Prætors, Tribunes of the People, " and all Confulars at or near the City, take Care " that the Commonwealth receive no Damage."

Pompey and Cæsar.

This was a public Declaration of War, and the Provinces were partitioned out accordingly amongst the Friends of Pompey. Scipio had Syria, and L. Domitius was appointed to succeed CESAR in Gaul, without the usual Form of consulting the People. But Philippus and Marcellinus, though likewise of Consular Dignity, were passed by, without any Allotment, as the Friends of CESAR. POM-PEY governed the two Spains by his Lieutenants. Cato had Sicily, and Aurelius Cotta Sardinia. Africa was to be under the Government of Ælius Tubero, and Cisalpine Gaul of Considius Nonianus. To Calvifius Sabinus was allotted Bithynia and Pontus; and to Publius Sestius, Cilicia and Cyprus. Achaia, Macedonia, Asia, Illyricum, Crete, and Cyrene, were divided amongst Persons of the same Stamp. Calpurnius Bibulus was to command in Chief the Fleets and the whole Sea-coast, having under him feveral Lieutenants. But Capua, and the Coast of Campania, were committed to the Charge of Cicero; the Government of Asculum, to Lentulus Spinther; of Etruria, to Scribonius Libo; of Iguvium, to Minutius Thermus; and of Auximum, to Atius Varus. Musters were made in every Part of Italy, and Money and Arms ordered in from all Quarters. So that, amidst all this Hurry and Preparation, CESAR seemed to stand single.

CÆSAR.

In the mean Time this great Man, seemingly POMPEY AND unwilling to enter the Lists with them, by his Friends in the Senate, by Letters to the Confuls, and by Messages to Pompey, expressed his Readiness to comply with almost any Terms. But his Friends were brow-beaten, and the Confuls refused to report their Opinions, or to move the Senate (which they only were authorized to do) upon the Subject of his Letters. Pompey could not bear the Man who had so fatally eclipsed his Glory, and rivalled his Authority: and Cato had fworn, at all Events, to bring him to Judgment for his Corruptions. So that, in fact, CESAR had no Alternative, but either to protect himself by Arms, or tamely to give up his Life a Sacrifice to the Rage of his Enemies, and the Ambition of Pompey. Being informed therefore, by the Tribunes who fled to his Camp, in the Disguise of Slaves, of the Impracticability of any other Measures, and the Violation of their own Characters, he drew together the thirteenth Legion (for the rest were not yet come up) and harangued them. "He reminded them of the " continual Injuries that he had received from his " Enemies, by whom he complained that POMPEY "was drawn afide, and utterly estranged to him, "through Envy, and a malevolent Opposition to " his Glory; that the Tribunitial Intercession, Vol. I. " fome

POMPEY AND CAESAR.

fome Time fince restored, should be op-" pressed by Violence and Arms, was a strange " unheard-of Thing; that Sylla, when he had " stripped that Authority of all other Privi-" leges, had yet left its Intercession free; that "POMPEY, who might feem to have restored it; " had now cancelled his own Gift; that, as oft " as it had been decreed, That the Magistrates be " careful that the Commonwealth receive no Damage, " it had been either on Account of some destruc-"tive Laws, or fome Violence offered to the Tri-66 bunes, or a Secession of the People; but that none of all this was the Case at present. He therefore exhorted them to defend the Honour and Dignity of their General, under whose Conduct they had been victorious for nine Years " together." This was received with Applause by the Legionaries, who declared themselves ready to vindicate the Honour of their Commander. He then marched from Ravenna to Ariminum, fending Orders for the rest of the Legions to follow him. Here he met with L. Cæsar, whose Father was his Lieutenant. This young Gentleman brought him a trifling Meffage from Pompey, which occasioned an Answer and Reply, whereby this latter insisted upon every Thing from CÆSAR, and would himself submit to nothing. CESAR therefore dispatched Antony

Antony to Arretium with five Cohorts, and lodged Pompey AND a fingle one in each of the Towns of Pisaurum, Fanum, and Ancona.

Having Intelligence in the mean Time, that the Prætor Thermus, at the Head of five Cohorts, was fortifying Iguvium, he fent Curio with three Cohorts against him. On whose Arrival Thermus quitted the Place, whose Troops left him on the March, and returned home. He then moved forwards towards Auximum. But on his Approach Attius Varus also fled, and, being closely pursued and attacked, was deferted by his Troops in the Engagement, Part of whom went home, and the rest joined CÆSAR.

When the News of his Progress reached Rome, a Report prevailing at the same Time, that CESAR's Horse were near at hand, a general Consternation took Place. The two Confuls, and most of the Magistrates, hurried from the City. Pompey was gone the Day before to the two Legions already spoken of, which wintered in Apulia. Their Musters ceased, and nothing was looked upon as safe on this Side Capua.

From Auximum CESAR over-ran all Picenum, the feveral Governments of these Countries receiving him with open Arms, and affifting him with all Necessaries. Even from Cingulum, a Town which Pompey and Cæsar.

Labienus (who was gone over to the Enemy) had builded at his own Charge, came Deputies, tendering their most ready Submission. The twelfth Legion now came up. With these two he marched This Place was held by Lentulus to Asculum. Spinther, who fled with the Garrison, but was deferted by a great Part of it. Thence he moved on to Corfinium, where Domitius commanded, who ordered out five Cohorts to break down the Bridge three Miles from the Town. But the Vanguard of CASAR coming up, engaged, and drove them back; fo that he passed over his Forces, and encamped under the Walls. Domitius immediately dispatched Messengers, well acquainted with the Country, to POMPEY for Relief: "That CESAR might be eafily inclosed by their two Armies, and his Provisions cut off: but that, if he neglected the Opportu-"nity, more than thirty Cohorts, with a great W Number of Roman Senators and Equestrians, ran "the Hazard of being loft." He then made Preparations for Defence.

Meantime the Inhabitants of Sulmo, but eight Miles distant, would have surrendered, but were prevented by 2: Lucretius the Senator, and Attius the Pelignian, who bridled them with a Garrison of seven Cohorts. Thither came Antony with five, to whom both Townsmen and Soldiers opened the

Gates.

CÆSAR.

Gates. Lucretius and Attius threw themselves from Pompey AND the Wall. The latter defired to be conveyed to -CESAR. Antony therefore returned with him the fame Day. The Garrison CESAR incorporated with his own Troops, and dismissed their Commander. The first three Days he spent in strengthening his Camp with great Works, and bringing in Provisions from the neighbouring Towns, intending to wait there for the rest of his Forces: Within that Time the eighth Legion came up, and with it twoand-twenty Cohorts of the new Musters in Gaul. and about three hundred Horse. These formed a separate Camp, on the other Side the Town. under the Command of Curio. He then drew a Line of Circumvallation round the Place, and when the Work was near finished, the Messengers sent to Pompey returned with Letters.

On the Perusal of these, Domitius gave out that they would foon be relieved by Pompey, and encouraged them to a vigorous Defence; but with a few private Friends confulted how to get off. When the Difference between his Words and Looks was observed, with his unusual Care and I repidation, and his converfing much in private, the Truth could: no longer be concealed. For Pompey had written back, "That he would not put all to the Hazard; that it was neither by his Advice nor with his

"Confenta

POMPEY AND CÆSAR.

"Consent that he had shut himself up in Con"finium; and that, if possible, he should come to
"him with all his Forces." But this was prevented by the Siege and Circumvallation.

Mean Time the Design of Domitius having got Air, the Soldiers began to divide and cabal: "They were befieged by CESAR, whose Works were nearly completed; their Leader, on whom they depended, was going to provide for himself: "that they too ought to have some Regard for "their own Safety." But the Marsians were at first of different Sentiments, and seized upon that Part of the Town which was strongest, and so great was the Dissension that they were very near coming to Blows. At length the Intent of Domitius was fully known to all of them, whom then they feized and furrounded, fending instantly to CESAR, that they were ready to submit, and deliver Domitius alive into his Hands. It was now Night. CESAR therefore answered the Deputies, that he would receive their Surrender in the Morning. Very early Lentulus Spinther was, at his own Request, introduced to him. "He first entreated for his own Safety, and afterwards recounted their ancient Friend-"fhip, and the many Services which he had re-" ceived from CESAR; that through him he had been admitted into the College of the Pontiffs, " had

CÆSAR.

" had obtained the Province of Spain after his Pompey and " Prætorship, and had been assisted by him in his " Petition for the Consulate." Whom CASAR interrupted, faying, that "he had not left his Pro-" vince with Defign to injure any Man, but for the Vindication of his own Honour; to restore " to their Dignity the Tribunes of the People, " who had been driven from the City on his Ac-" count; and to defend the Liberty both of him-" felf and the Roman People, oppressed by the "Faction of a few."—Confirmed by this Speech, Lentulus begged Leave to return, observing, that the Grant of his own Safety would minister Consolation to the rest; for that some of them were in fo despairing a Condition as to think of putting an End to their own Lives. This granted, he retired.

When it was Day, CESAR ordered all the Senators, and their Sons, the Military Tribunes, and Equestrians, to be brought before him. Here were, of the Senatorian Order, L. Domitius and P. Lentulus Spinther, L. Vibullius Rufus, Sex. Quinctilius Varus, besides the Son of Domitius, and many other young Gentlemen, with a great Number of Equestrians and Magistrates of the free Towns. These were all saved from the Revilings of the Soldiers, and dismissed in Safety by CÆSAR, after

Pompey and CÆSAR.

he had put them in Mind of the ungrateful Return which they had made for the many Benefits which he had conferred upon them. The Money brought to him he restored to Domitius, that he might not seem more continent in the Lives of Men, than in the Matter of Money; though he was sensible that it belonged to the Public, and had been remitted by Pompey for the Pay of the Troops. Having stayed only seven Days at Corsinium, he marched straight into Apulia.

Pompey, on Advice of what had passed at Corfinium, marched from Luceria to Canusum, and thence to Brundusum, ordering the Levies from all Parts to attend him there, arming the very Slaves and Shepherds, and surnishing them with Horses. Of these he formed a Body of Cavalry, about three hundred. L. Manlius, the Prætor, sled from Alba with six Cohorts; as did Rutilus Rupus, another of the Prætors, from Tarracina, with three. All these seeing at a Distance the Cavalry of Cæsar, under the Command of Bivius Curius, turned their Ensigns, and came over to him. In other Marches likewise, several Cohorts fell in with the Line of Cæsar, as did some others among the Horse.

CESAR arrived at Brundusium with six Legions, three of them consisting of Veterans; the rest being made up of new Levies, and completed on the

CÆSAR.

March. For the Cohorts of Domitius, he fent im- POMPEY AND mediately into Sicily. Here he found that the Confuls, with a great Part of the Army, had passed over to Dyrrachium, and that Pompey was left behind at Brundusium, with twenty Cohorts: but whether with Defign to keep the Place, in order to make himself Master of the Hadriatic on both Sides. or for Want of Shipping, was uncertain. Here he made another fruitless Attempt to engage Pompey in a Treaty; who answered, that he could do nothing without the Confuls, who were absent.

One half of the Harbour of Brundusum was shut up by the Works of CESAR, when the Vessels returned, which had conveyed the Forces across the Then POMPEY, either fearing to be in-Gulph. closed by his industrious Enemy, or having so determined before, made Preparations for leaving Italy. The better to retard the Impetuofity of CESAR, and that he might not be surprized in the very Act of Embarkation, he walled up the Gates, raised Buildings across the Streets and Lanes, into which he drove Piles and sharp-headed Stakes, covering them over with Hurdles, and Earth o'top. The two Ways which led from the Wall to the Port, he barricaded with very large Beams, sharply pointed. Having taken these Precautions, he ordered the Troops to embark in Silence, and disposed a few Vol. I. L

Pompey and CASAR.

a few light-armed Troops upon the Walls, and in the Castles, more for Shew than Service. These, at a certain Signal, were to descend, and make the best of their Way to the Haven, where some light Vessels were to be left for their Reception. While this was doing, the Townsmen, instigated by the Injuries which they had suffered from the Soldiers, and the contumelious Usage of Pompey himself, gave Signification of it from the Walls, which the Cassarians, clapping their Ladders, instantly mounted. But, being warned of the Stakes and Ditches, it was some Time before they could be led round to the Harbour, where they seized two Vessels with Soldiers, which had struck against the Moles of CESAR.

That General well knew the Importance of following his Adversary without Loss of Time. But Pompey, by having carried off the Shipping from all Parts of the Coast, had rendered that impossible. He therefore directed his View towards Spain, where were two Provinces and a veteran Army entirely devoted to his Enemy.

He now sent his Lieutenant Valerius to Sardinia with one Legion, and Curio as Proprætor into Sicily with three; instructing the latter, as soon as he should have recovered that Island, to pass his Army over into Africa. The Caralitans, even as soon

foon as they heard of the Commission of the for- Pompey AND mer, and before he left Italy, drove Cotta out of their City; who, fore affrighted, and feeing all the Sardinians of the same Mind, fled into Africa, Gato, in Sicily, was busied in fitting out a Fleet; was at the same Time making new Levies of Roman Citizens, by his Lieutenants, amongst the Brutians and Lucanians; and was exacting a stated Number of Horse and Foot from the several Cities of the Island. These Affairs were almost brought to Perfection, when being informed of the Arrival of Curio, he complained in Council, that "he had been betrayed by POMPEY, who, totally unprepared, had undertaken an unnecessary War; and who, when he was asked in Senate, by himself, "and others, had affured them that he had all. "Things in Readiness," Having thus vented his Complaints, he retired, and quitted the Province.

Tubero's Allotment was Africa, where, on his coming, he found Attius Varus, who had fled this ther on the Loss of his Cohorts at Auximum, and there raised two Legions. His Knowledge of the People and Country, as having been Proprætor there but a few Years before, had opened the Way to this Attempt. This Man opposed the Landing of Tubero; nor would he so much as permit him to set Pompey and Cæsar.

his Son on Shore, tho' in an ill State of Health, but compelled him to weigh his Anchors and be gone."

Things thus ordered, CESAR, to give some Ease to his Troops, quartered them in the neighbouring privileged Towns, and fet out himself for Rome. Assembling the Senate, he laid before them . the " ill Offices of his Enemies; that he had aimed at " no extraordinary Honour, but, having waited the " legal Time, was content with that which was "open to every Citizen; that a Law had passed by the ten Tribunes of the People, notwithstanding the Contradiction of his Enemies, and the stre-"nuous Opposition of Cato (who, according to his Custom, had endeavoured to wear out the Day with his long Speeches) even in the Confulship of Pompey, who approved, or might have hin-" dered it, whereby he was permitted to stand for that Dignity in Absence. And if he did approve " it, why did he prevent him from enjoying the "Favour of the People? Wished them to consider " his Forbearance, when of his own Accord he " made Proposals for disbanding the Armies, by which he should have made Shipwreck of his " own Dignity and Honour; to consider the Bitter-" ness of his Enemies, who resused themselves what "they required of him, and chose rather to bring " all Things to Confusion, than to part with their " Authority

"Authority and Armies: he exposed their In- POMPEY AND "juffice in the Seizure of his Legions; their -"Cruelty and Infolence in the Deposition of the of popular Tribunes; the Conditions by him of-"fered, and the Conferences requested and re-"fused: on all which Accounts he defired and Wintreated that they would undertake with him the Management of the Commonwealth. But, if through Eear they should decline it, he would "not but then them, but undergo the Task himfelf. It was necessary (he faid) to fend Commisfioners to Pompey to treat of an Accommoda-"tion. Nor did he concern himself about what "POMPEY had averred in Senate a little while ago, "that the Authority was with them to whom Commis-" sioners were deputed; and was an Argument of " Fear in those who sent them; this was mean and weak; but that, for his Part, as he had endea-" voured to excel in Action, so was he studious to " exceed in Justice and Equity,"

The Proposal for sending Commissioners was approved; but they could find none willing to be concerned. For Pompey, at his Departure, had declared that he should look upon those who stayed behind in the same Light as if they had been in the Camp of Cæsar. Thus three Days were lost in Debates and Excuses; Lucius Metellus, one of the

POMPEY AND CÆSAR.

Tribunes of the People, being fet on to distract this and every other Measure. A Law was proposed to the People for supplying him with such Monies as he should want from the public Treafury. This was opposed by the same Tribune: who, when he found his Opposition vain, kept a Guard at the Door of it to as little Purpose; for it was burst open by the Command of GESAR, who took thence an immense Sum. Several other Laws passed, chiefly of Antony's proposing, for the Support of the Cause. Thus both Sides branded their Opponents, as usual in Civil Wars, with the Stigma of being Enemies to their Country: both the Leaders were called the Generals of the States while both confulted principally their own Interest, and used the Commonwealth, as a Mistress, for their own Convenience.

CESAR, before he left Rome, appointed Antony to command the Forces in Italy, and M. Æmilius Lepidus to be Governor of the City. This last was also one of the Prætors. He then set out for the farther Gaul, where he heard that Vibulius Rusus, whom he had taken and dismissed at Corsinium, was sent by Pompey into Spain, and that the Massilians had given Domitius Possession of their City. He determined therefore to besiege the Place by Sea and Land. To this End he led thither three

begions, which he Aput under the Command of POMPEN AND C. Trebonius; his Lieutenant, and having in thirty Days built a Fleet of twelve long Ships, he committed them to the Gate of Decimus Brutus, who was afterwards one of his Affaffins.

While these Things were carrying on, he sent forward into Spain C. Fabius, his Lieutenant, with three Legions, which had wintered in the Neighbourhood of Narbonne, with Orders to feize upon the Passes of the Pyrenees, of which Afranius had possessed himself. The rest of the Legions, whose Quarters were farther distant, were ordered to follow. Fabius, busing great Expedition, pursuant to his Instructions, dislodged the Troops which guarded the Passes; and, with long Marches, moved on towards the Armyoof Afranius and the second

This Afranius, with Petreius and Varro, governed all Spain, as the Lieutenants of POMPEY; one of them commanding the hither Spain, with three Legions; another the whole Country, from Castulo to the River Anas, with two Legions; the third, the Country of the Vettones, from the Anas and Lusitania, with an equal Number. But on the Arrival of Vibullius Rufus, it was determined that Petreius should march from Lustania with all his Forces, and join Afranius; and that Varro, with his own Legions, should protect all the farther Spain. a) 53

CASAR

Spain. In the mean Time Auxiliaries of Horse and Foot are raised all over Lustania by Petreius, and by Afranius throughout Celtiberia, Cantabria, and the barbarous Nations bordering on the Ocean. This done, Petreius marched to Afranius with all Speed, and they agreed to carry on the War jointly in the Neighbourhood of Ilerda; the Place being altogether convenient for their Purpose. Besides their five Legions, they had twenty Spanish Cohorts, and about five thousand Horse.

To oppose these, Casar had forwarded into Spain three Legions, about six thousand auxiliary Foot, and three thousand Horse; and had provided a like Number of new-raised Troops among the Gauls, consisting of the best Families, and the bravest Men. At the same Time he borrowed what Money he could of his own Officers, which he distributed amongst the Soldiers; by which he secured the Fidelity of the former and the Affections of the latter.

Fabius, by his Letters and Messengers, tried the Disposition of the Cities as he passed. He builded two Bridges over the Sicoris, four Miles apart, for the Convenience of foraging, having already cleared the Country on this Side the River. The Pompeian Generals did the same: and there were frequent Skirmishes between the Horse of both Parties. It happened

CÆSAR.

happened that two of Fabius's Legions, which went Pompey and over daily as a Guard to the Foragers, with their Horse and Baggage, were on the other Side, when by a violent Wind and Flood the Bridge was broken down, and the Communication cut off. On the News of this, Petreius and Afranius, by their own Bridge adjoining to the Town and Camp, marched to attack them, with four Legions, and all their Horse. L. Plancus, who commanded the two Legions, being advised of their Approach, necessarily made Choice of the higher Ground, and divided his Forces into two Bodies, that they might not be furrounded by the Enemy's Horse. Thus he fustained the Attack, which was very fierce. But as foon as the Horse began the Engagement, the Enfigns of two Legions were perceived at a Distance on the March. These had providently been fent by Fabius over the lower Bridge, for he fuspected what would happen; and on their Advance the Battle ceased, each Party retiring to their respective Camps.

Two Days after this Casar arrived in the Camp, with nine hundred Horse, which he had reserved as a Guard for his own Person; and, leaving all the Carriages and Baggage at the Bridge, under a Guard of fix Cohorts, marched towards Ilerda, and offered Battle to the Enemy, which they refused. He then pitched

pitched his Camp, and fortified it, at a small Distance from them: but attempting to seize an Eminence, which lay between the Town and the Enemy's Camp, the Detachment fent out was repulsed, and the Pompeians took Possession of it. Two Days after, a dreadful Storm raised the Waters higher than the Memory of Man had known them, and broke down both his Bridges in one Day. This plunged him in great Difficulties: for his Forces, being encamped between the Sicoris and Cinga, which were neither of them fordable, were necesfarily confined within this Space of thirty Miles; and neither could the Foragers return to the Camp, nor could they receive Provisions from the Cities in Amity with them, nor the large Convoys expected both from Italy and Gaul. It was also the most distressful Time of the Year; for the Corn was neither green, nor far from Maturity; and the Cities were in a Manner exhausted, Afranius having conveyed almost all the Grain to Ilerda, before the Arrival of CESAR; and all the Cattle, which might have been some Relief, had been driven off on Account of the War. While the Army of Afranius, by Means of the Bridge at Ilerda, and their Stores in the Place, abounded with Plenty of all Things.

The Floods continued many Days. Casar endeavoured

CÆSAR:

deavoured to repair his Bridges, but was prevented POMPEY AND by the Greatness of the Stream, and the Cohorts posted on the opposite Bank. A great Convoy, going to CESAR, was now stopped by the Floods. It consisted of Archers from the Rutheni, and Cavalry from Gaul, amounting to about fix thoufand Men, with their Slaves and Children, many Carriages, and much Baggage. These used no Order, were under no Command, but marched without Care or Fear, according to the Licence of former Amongst them were many young Gentlemen of Family, the Sons of Senators, of the Equestrian Order, Embassies from the Cities, and the Deputies of CESAR. When Afranius was informed of this, he presently marched against them, with all his Cavalry, and three Legions, by Night. The Attack was sudden and unexpected; but the Gauls quickly got themselves ready, and engaged: and, though few, compared to the Assailants, sustained the Charge with great Spirit. But, when they faw the Enfigns of the Legions advance against them, they betook themselves to the Hills, with little The Time thus employed proved of great Consequence to the rest, as it gave them an Opportunity of retiring to the Eminences. About two hundred Archers, a few Horsemen, and some SerCÆSAR.

POMPEY AND vants, were missing, with no great Matter of Baggage.

> But still this added to the common Distress. Wheat was fifty Denarii per Bushel, and the Soldiers grew weak for Want of Bread. So wonderful was the Change of Circumstances in so short a Time! Afranius, Petreius, and their Friends, did not fail to make the most of this in all their Letters to Rome: and it was confidently given out, that CESAR was absolutely undone. So that most of the People of Consequence in Italy, and Cicero amongst the rest, hurried away to Pompey.

> Things were in this Extremity, when CESAR ordered the Soldiers to fet about making the Sort of Boats which they had feen used in Britain. These were composed of Osier Twigs, and covered with Hides. When finished, they were conveyed by Night two-and-twenty Miles from the Camp. In these he transported a Body of Soldiers across the River; who immediately occupying an Eminence adjoining to the Bank, strongly fortified it, before the Enemy had Notice. He then passed over a Legion, and finished a Bridge in two Days. the Convoy and Foragers returned to him in Safety, and a Way was open for Provisions.

The same Day he sent over a great Part of his Cavalry,

Cavalry, who unexpectedly fetting upon the Fo- POMPEY AND ragers of the Enemy, as they were scattered abroad without Fear, intercepted a vast Number of Men and Cattle. Thefe, with the Aflistance of some Companies of Targetiers, secured the Plunder, repulsed the Troops that were fent against them, and cut off one whole Cohort; themselves returning safe to the Camp with an immense Booty.

Things began now to wear a new Face. Afranians were afraid to make Excursions, and entered upon a new Fashion of foraging chiefly by Night. The People of Osca and Calagurium sent Deputies to CASAR, to tender their Submission. These were followed by the Jacetanians, the Ausetanians, and a few Days after by the Illergetanians, who, according to Order, supplied him with Corn. A Cohort of the last People, conforming to the Disposition of their City, left their Station, and went over to him; as did many other Cities at a confiderable Distance.

It was not enough for CESAR to have extricated himself from these unheard-of Difficulties. He determined that his Enemies should feel the same Distresses. He therefore dug Trenches thirty Foot deep, to carry off the Waters of the Sicoris, and make it easily fordable. This alarmed Afranius and Petreius, who were apprehensive of having their Supplies

CÆSAR.

Supplies of Forage and Provision entirely cut off, as CESAR was so much superior in Horse. They resolved therefore to transfer the War to Celtiberia, the People in those Parts being generally well affected to Pompey; and there they looked for great Recruits of Horse and Foot. They decamped accordingly, when CESAR had so far carried on his Works, that the Cavalry could pass the River, as could the Infantry, with the Head and Shoulders only above Water. There was therefore nothing left for him to do, but to dispatch his Cavalry after them, to press upon their Rear, which they did with good Effect.

Meanwhile the Legionaries in the Camp were in the utmost Concern, that their Enemies should thus escape. They deputed to Casar their Officers, entreating him to march after them. "They were "ready and able," they said, "to pass the River where the Horse had forded it." He was fearful of exposing his Army to the Rapidity of so large a River; but was excited to the Trial by their Alacrity. From all the Centuries, he picked out the weaker Soldiers, and left them, with one Legion, to guard the Camp. He then placed a great Number of Cattle both above and below the Place of Passage, to break the Current, and so entered the River, which he passed without the Loss of a Man.

He then pursued the Enemy with such Expedition, as obliged them to encamp sooner than they intended. The next Day they entered the Mountains, placing Detachments in the narrow Passes to keep back the Horse that pursued them, designing to march on to the *Iberus*. But being employed the whole Day with continual Skirmishes, and wearied with Action, they were forced again to encamp; as did Cæsar upon the nearest Eminence to them.

About Midnight, fome of them, who went farthest from their Camp for Water, being seized by CESAR's Horse, he was informed by them, that their Generals were drawing off their Forces from the Camp in Silence. On this CESAR gave the Signal, with Orders to proclaim the March. The Enemy, hearing the Noise, and fearing to engage by Night while loaded with Baggage, or to be attacked in the Straits by CÆSAR's Horse, suppressed their intended March, and entered the Camp again. The Day after, Petreius with a few Horse went out privately to view the Country. The same did Decidius Saxa from the Camp of CESAR. Both report that is was champaign for the next five Miles, but afterwards craggy and mountainous; that he who should first be Master of the Straits there, might eafily keep back the other.

The Enemy had secured the Roads to the Iberus and

and Octogesa. CASAR therefore decamped by Break of Day, taking a large Compass round. At first the Soldiers of Afranius ran after them, and tauntingly told them, that they were flying back to Ilerda for Fear of starving; for their Motion seemed to look that Way. But when afterwards they obferved them wheeling gradually to the Right, and getting beyond their Level, they were all eager to be gone, and, leaving a few Cohorts where they were, marched off straight for the Iberus. Celerity was now the Point: which of the two should first occupy the Straits of the Mountains. CESAR'S March was retarded by the Difficulty of the Ways over steep Hills and deep Vallies, owing to the Compass which he had taken: and CESAR's Cavalry were a strong Impediment in the Way of the Afranians. In short, the Affair was brought to this Issue: If the Afranians should gain the Mountains first, they were safe themselves: but the Cohorts, Carriages, and all the Baggage left behind, must be lost of Course. But CESAR carried his Point, and, having ascended the craggy Mountains, drew up his Army upon the Plain. Afranius, hard pressed by the Cavalry behind, and feeing the Army before him, halted upon an Eminence, and ordered thence four Cohorts of Targetiers to run with all possible Speed, and take Possession of the highest Mountain that

CÆSAR.

that was in View, intending to follow them with POMPEY AND all his Forces, and march to Octogesa along the Ridge of the Mountains. But when CÆSAR's Cavalry faw the Cohorts run, they fell upon them with great Impetuofity, furrounded them, and cut them all in Pieces in the Sight of both Armies.

The Afranian Army was now in much the same Condition that CESAR was when confined by the Floods; if not in worse. For they could come at no Water but with great Difficulty. Some Corn the Legionaries had indeed: for they had been ordered to take with them two-and-twenty Days Provision. But the Targetiers and Auxiliaries had none: and they were prevented from foraging. So that a great Number deferted daily. On these Accounts, the two Generals began their March back towards Ilerda. CESAR instantly followed, and his Cavalry kept the Rear in continual Action. For, as for their own Cavalry, they had been so harraffed and dispirited with former Engagements, that they had been forced to receive them into the Center of their own Army: nor could one of them stir from the main Body without being prefently laid hold of by the Cæsareans.

Thus their March was necessarily tedious and slow. For having passed only four Miles, they were so hardly pressed, that, taking Possession of a lofty Vol. I. Mountain, Pompey and CÆSAR.

Mountain, they made one large Front against the Enemy, and began to fortify their Camp, without unloading the Beasts of Burthen. And when Cæsar had pitched his Camp, reared his Tents, and sent his Horse out to forage, with all Haste they set forward and began to march again about Noon. Immediately Cæsar was after them with his Legionaries, leaving a sew Cohorts behind him to guard the Baggage, with Orders for the Horse to follow him. This they did with Alacrity, and attacked the Rear so sharply, as made them in a Manner turn their Backs. In this Action very many Soldiers and some Centurions were slain.

Being now neither able to march forward, nor to look out for a proper Place to encamp in, they were necessarily constrained to pitch upon a Spot altogether incommodious, and far from Water. Casar also halted, but suffered not a Tent to be raised, that they might be all in Readiness to march at a Moment's Warning, whether by Night or Day. Thus were they in a Manner besieged; and thus they continued to the fourth Day, their Cattle without Fodder, and themselves almost destitute of Water, Wood, and Corn. The Generals therefore demanded a Parley, which was granted by Casar, who gave them their Lives and Liberty, on Condition that they disbanded their Troops, and quitted

the-

the Province immediately. On the News of this Pompey and Surrender, all the farther Spain, with Varro, the Lieutenant of Pompey, and the two Legions under his Command, submitted to the Conqueror.

CÆSAR.

While the War was carrying on in Spain, the Massilians, twice defeated in a Naval Engagement, and forely afflicted with a Siege without, and Famine within, only referved their Surrender to the Appearance of CESAR; who, more for their Name and Antiquity, than any Merits of their own, granted them a Pardon: but Domitius had before made his Escape by Sea. Here he had Advice of his being nominated Dictator by M. Lepidus, the Prætor. Leaving therefore two Legions here in Garrison, he ordered the rest for Italy, and set out himself for Rome.

In the mean Time Curio had transported from Sicily into Africa two of the four Legions which he had received from CESAR, and five hundred Horse. At first he was very successful; but, holding his Enemy in too great Contempt, and being deceived by false Intelligence, was at last cut off, with all his Forces, by Sabura, the General of King Fuba.

At Rome, CASAR, who was now Dictator, appointed Antony his MASTER OF THE HORSE. Hence he forms the Reverse of the Medal before us, struck

Pl. II. 12.

on this particular Occasion, and is distinguished as Augur by the Lituus, as is the Dictator by the Guttus, as the Sovereign Pontiff. During the short Time of his Dictature, he filled up the Pontifical Colleges, recalled all the Exiles, Milo only excepted, granted the Privilege of Roman Citizens to the Cisalpine Gauls, reduced the Interest of Debts, and presided at the annual Election, wherein himself, and P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, were created Confuls; it being the Year wherein he might be Conful according to Law. This fecond Consulate of CESAR is recorded on some Medals, having the Head of the Julian Venus, with the Title or Infcription C. CAESAR. IMP. COS. ITER. the Reverse is the Figure of Neptune, resting his right Foot on the Beak of a Ship, and holding three Legs joined, being the Symbol of Sicily, with the Legend A. ALLIENVS PRO. COS. Which Island Allienus governed first as Prætor, and afterwards with Proconsular Authority.

Pl. II. 13.

At the End of eleven Days Cæsar refigned the Dictature, and set out for Brundusium. Thither he had ordered twelve Legions, and all his Cavalry; but sound Shipping only, and barely sufficient, for the Transportation of twenty thousand Legionaries and six hundred Horse. Pompey had enjoyed a whole Year's Space, without Interruption, to collect

CÆSAR.

his Forces in. He had accordingly got together a POMPEY AND prodicious Fleet from Aha, the Cyclades, Corcyra, Athens, Pontus, Bithynia, Syria, Cilicia, Phænice, and Egypt, and had besides taken Care to have many more built in all Places; had exacted immense Sums from all Kings, Podestadts, Tetrarchs, and the free People of Achaia, as well as from the Societies of those Provinces which himself obtained. He had made up nine Legions of Roman Citizens. amongst which he had distributed a great Number of Men from the feveral Parts of Greece, under the Name of a Supplement. He moreover looked for two Legions from Syria, with Scipio. Archers he had already from Crete, Lacedemon, Pontus, Syria, and other Places, to the Number of three thousand; of Slingers, fix Cohorts; of Mercenaries, two; of Horse, seven thousand. From all Parts he had collected a vast Quantity of Corn, designing to winter at Dyrrachium, Apollonia, and the rest of the: Maritime Towns, in order to have the entire Command of the Sea. With this View he had disposed his Fleet along the whole Coast. The Ægyptian Ships were committed to the Charge of his Son; the Afatic; to Lælius and Triarius; the Syrian, to C. Cassius; the Rhodian, to C. Marcellus and C. Coponius; the Liburnian and Achaian, to Scribonius. Libo and M. Octavius. But Bibulus was the High-Admiral.

Admiral, and had the Direction of all Maritime.

Affairs.

With the Forces already mentioned, CESAR crossed the Adriatic from Brundusum, and landed them at a Place called Pharsahis, before his Enemies were apprized of his Motions, having gained a fecure Station amidst Rocks, and other dangerous Places of for all the Harbours were filled with Pom-PEY's Fleets. But as foon as they heard of his being at Sea, Bibulus fet fail from Corcyra, and meeting with the empty Veffels on the Return, took thirty of them, which he burned, with all the Masters and Mariners that were in them. Immediately on his Landing, CESAR marched to Oricum, where L. Torquatus commanded who finding the Disposition of the Inhabitants fixt that Way, was forced to deliver up the Place and himfelf to CESAR. Apollonia followed the Example of Oricum, as did all the neighbouring Gities, and the whole Country of Epirusanha and canoff and inches

CESAR had already fent VIBULLIUS RUFUS, whom he had twice taken Prisoner, to Pompey, with the Offer of an amicable Treaty: he proposed, that seach of them should bind himself by Oath to disband all his Forces in three Days Time; that they should return to Rome together, and there submit themselves to the Judgment of the Senate "and

"and People." Vibullius made all the Haste he could, travelling Night and Day, to inform Pompey, who was marching thitherward from Mace, donia, of Casar's Arrival. Pompey, on this Intelligence, marched on without Intermission, being under Apprehension for Dyrrachium, which he had made his Place of Arms. The Advance of Casar had insused strange Terror into his Army; insomuch that when they came near the Place, it was judged necessary to exact an Oath from both Officers and common Soldiers, that they would not desert their General. This had a very indifferent Aspect, and was indeed an open Confession of their Fears.

Bibulus was now with his Fleet in the Harbour of Oricum, and as he kept the Havens and the Seafrom Cæsar, so was he secluded by Cæsar from the Land; by whose Troops the whole Coast was guarded. This brought upon him great Inconveniences. For he was forced to setch all his Wood and Water in Ships of Burthen from Corcyra; and to continue on Board, taking the nocturnal Dew; the Weather also was tempestuous. Hence he contracted a Disorder which carried him off. After which, the Naval Commanders acted separately, each according to his own Discretion.

Vibullius Rufus, having gained an Opportunity,

Pompey and

in the Presence of Libo, Lucceius, and Theophanes, to whom Pompey was used to communicate his most weighty Affairs, now laid before him the Proposal of CESAR; but in the Midst of his Discourse, was sharply interrupted: "What is Life or Country " either to me," faid POMPEY, "which I shall seem " to enjoy merely by the Courtefy of CESAR? And " to be dragged back, like a Runaway, to the "Place from whence I came." Notwithstanding this, CESAR was determined to let slip no Occasion of Treaty which might offer. Accordingly, as there was only the Apfus between the two Armies, he fent P. Vatinius, one of his Lieutenants, to the Bank of the River, who called aloud and demanded to know, "Whether Citizens were permitted to "treat with each other of Peace, or not?" After fome Time, it was answered, that "A. Varro would " treat with him on the Morrow, and that Deputies " on both Sides might be present, and propose "what they pleased." For this an Hour was fixed. The next Day a Multitude affembled on both Sides at the Time, and great was the Expectation, when Labienus stepped forth, and in a low Voice began to speak of Peace, and then to bicker with Vatinius. But on a sudden their Conversation was interrupted by a Shower of Weapons. Vatinius, covered by the Shields of the Soldiers, escaped the Danger,

Danger, but many were wounded; amongst them, the Centurions Cornelius Balbus, M. Plotius, and L. Tiburtius. "Have done then," said Labienus, "with your Proposals of Peace, for, without the "Head of CÆSAR, there can be none."

At this Time Libo, failing from Oricum with a Fleet of fifty Vessels, blocked up the Harbour of Brundusum, and burned some of CESAR's Ships there, fending Word to Pompey, that "he might " discharge the rest of his Fleets, if he thought " proper; for that himfelf would engage to prevent " any Supplies from going to CESAR." Antony was then at Brundusium, who got together some Boats, covered with Twigs and Hurdles, which he filled with Soldiers, and disposed around the Harbour, at a Distance from each other. In the next Place, having two Galleys, built on Purpose to exercife the Rowers, he ordered them to proceed to the Mouth of the Harbour. Libo observing this, fent five of his own to intercept them; when the two Galleys rowed in again with all their Might; which the others unwarily purfued. In an Instant Antony's Boats attacked them on every Side, took one, and forced the rest to a shameful Flight. He also disposed his Horse along the Coast, so that they could not water: and Libo was constrained to quit the Place:

Vol. I.

POMPEY AND CÆSAR.

Many Months had passed, Winter was advancing with hasty Strides, yet Casar had received no Supplies from Italy. Some Opportunities he judged to have been lost, as the Winds had frequently been favourable. He therefore sent peremptory Orders to Brundusium, that they should fail with the first fair Wind for the Coast of Apollonia; which they did, and landed at Nymphæum; having narrowly missed the Rhodian Fleet, commanded by C. Coponius.

Antony brought with him three Legions of Veterans, and one of new-raifed Men, with about eight hundred Horse, and sent most of the Vessels back for the rest. Advice of this was brought to CESAR and Pompey much about the same Time. Both, in Consequence, broke up their Camps upon the Apples; the former by Day, in order to join him; the latter by Night, to prevent the Junction. former had a large Circuit to make, being obliged to crofs the River. The latter had therefore the Advantage, and with halty Marches moved towards him; and having found a convenient Spot for his Purpole, when he came near him, there he halted, fuffering none to go out of the Camp, nor any Fires to be kindled. His Situation, however, was difcovered by the Greeks to Antony, who fent Messengers to Casar, and confined himself meanwhile within his Camp for one whole Day. On the next,

CESAR

CESAR came up to him; and Pompey, fearing to Pompey and be inclosed, marched off with all his Forces to Albaragium.

At this Time Deputies arrived from Thessaly and Ætolia, with an Offer of their Submission to CASAR. He therefore fent L. Cashus Longinus, at the Head of the new-raifed Legion, which was called the twenty-seventh, and two hundred Horse, into Thesfaly; and C. Calvifius Sabinus, with five Cohorts, and a few Horse, into Ætolia. Cn. Domitius Calvinus, with two Legions, the eleventh and twelfth, and five hundred Horse, he ordered into Macedonia.

As foon as Cæsar knew that Pompey was at A/paragium, he marched after him; and having taken the Town of the Parthini by the Way, in which Pom-PEY had left a Garrison, pitched his Camp near him; and on the following Day drew out his Forces, and offered him Battle. But finding this to no Purpose, he rose on the Day after, and by a large Compass, and a difficult and narrow Road, marched straight to Dyrrachium; hoping either to force Pompey thither, or to cut off his Communication; which happened accordingly: for POMPEY, who thought him to be gone a different Route, for Want of Provisions, being informed of his real Design, moved after him the next Day, hoping to overtake

him by the nearer Way. But the other, encouraging his Troops, and resting only a small Part of the Night, came there before him, and encamped, when the Van Guard of Pompey was discerned afar off.

Pompey, thus cut off from Dyrrachium, fortified his Camp upon an Eminence called Petra, which commanded a tolerable Harbour. And to this Place he ordered all his Provisions and Supplies from Asia, and the other Countries in his Interest. CESAR, therefore, judging the War to be drawn out into Length, and despairing of any further Supplies from Italy, as the Seas were fo effectually guarded, dispatched his Lieutenant, L. Canuleius, into Epirus, to secure a Subsistence for the Troops; and, on Account of the Distance, formed Magazines in convenient Places. He was, however, very sparingly supplied, the Country being mountainous, and importing most of their Grain; and having been in a great Measure exhausted by Pompey already.

There were, around the Camp of Pompey, pretty many sharp Hills. On some of these Cæsar planted Bodies of Men, and raised Castles; then, as the Situation allowed, drew Ramparts from Castle to Castle, and so by Degrees began to hem in the Enemy; looking by these Means, as himself was stinted

CÆSAR.

stinted in Provisions, and Pompey was vastly supe- Pompey and rior in Cavalry, to have his own Necessaries brought in the more freely, and to prevent the numerous Cavalry of Pompey from foraging, and fo to render it in a Manner useless. He had a further View, which was to lessen the Reputation of his Adversary with foreign Kings and Nations, when they should hear that he was befieged by CÆSAR, nor durst engage him.

Pompey was very unwilling to leave Dyrrachium and the Sea, because, in the first he had lodged his whole Apparatus for the War, and received all his Provisions by the last: nor could he put a Stop to CÆSAR's Works without fighting, which, for the present, he was determined not to do. All that was left for him, therefore, was to occupy as many of the Hills as he could, and take in as large a Tract as possible. When therefore four-and-twenty Castles were now raised, and a Space of fifteen Miles inclosed, within this Compass he foraged, and raifed a Quantity of Fodder from Seed. And as the Cæsareans, who had a continued Line to defend, were very circumspect without, that the Enemy might no where break through, so were the Pompeians equally intent on raising Fortifications within, to prevent the Entrance of the others; and were indeed superior in their Works, having the greater

of Ground. They had likewife a vast Number of Archers and Slingers, who were very troublesome when any fresh Spot was to be taken Possession of; so that Casar's Soldiers were obliged to make themselves Coverings of Hair-cloth, Hides, and such-like, for Defence.

Sharp was the Contest, and continual, the one endeavouring to contract, and the other to enlarge. When the ninth Legion of CESAR had begun to fortify a certain Spot, Pompey seized upon an Hill which was opposite and near, and thence endeavoured to interrupt the Work. There was one Passage to it which was almost level. First by his Archers and Slingers, and then by pouring in a Multitude of light-armed Troops, and bringing forward his Engines this Way, he proposed to hinder their Progress. Nor was it easy for them to defend themselves, and proceed at the same Time. CESAR, seeing his Soldiers wounded on all Sides, resolved to quit the Place. But the Retreat must be along a Declivity: and for this the Enemy pressed on the more eagerly, because they feemed to retire through Fear, Pompey himself glorying, that " he would give them Leave to " call him a pitiful Commander, if CESAR's Le-"gions, without the greatest Damage, escaped " from IO

" from the Place which they had rashly taken Pos-

POMPEY AND CÆSAR.

On the other Hand, CASAR, apprehensive for his Men, ordered Hurdles to be conveyed to the Edge of the Hill, and there planted against the Enemy. Within these he drew a Fosse of moderate Width, and embarraffed the Spot as much as might be. He then placed his Slingers in proper Situations, for the Protection of the Troops in their Retreat, and ordered them off. On this the Infolence and Audacity of the Pompeians increased. They pressed forward, and threw down the Hurdles, to pass the Trench: which CESAR observing, and fearing lest his Men should seem rather to be driven than drawn off, he commanded the Trumpet to found, and to charge the Enemy. This was done with fuch Vigour, that they drove the Pompeians up the Steep before them, and compelled them to turn their Backs. The Ditches, Hurdles, and Poles, laid in the Way, helped not a little to encrease the Slaughter and Confusion. Thus, after wounding many of the Enemy, and lofing only five of his own Men, they retreated quietly, and went on with their Works a little on this Side the Place.

This was a new Way of carrying on War: for it is usual for the stronger to besiege the weaker, and

Pompey and CESAR.

for those who abound to starve their Enemies. But in the present Case the Method was inverted; for here inferior Forces invested the more numerous. and the weak and indigent those who had Plenty of all Things. For CESAR was in the greatest Straits, having confumed all the Bread-Corn far and wide. Yet the Soldiers bore it with fingular Patience; for they remembered with what Success their Toils and Sufferings had been crowned in Spain; what Hardships they had endured at Alesia, and at Avaricum much more, when they were victorious over mighty Nations. They found out a Sort of Root, called Chara, which, mingled with Milk, relieved them greatly. And of this they made Bread, having great Plenty of it. So that when the Pompeians upbraided them with their starving Condition, they would frequently throw their Loaves at them. But the Wheat began now to ripen in the Fields; and Hope itself in some Measure sustained them. And frequently upon the Watch, and in Conversation, were they heard to fay, that "they would fooner live " upon the Bark of Trees, than fuffer Pompey to " escape them." They had the further Satisfaction of hearing that the Horses and Cattle of the Enemy were almost spoiled for Want of Necessaries; and the Men, from their continual Labours, to which they had not been accustomed, the Stench of the dead

POMPEY AND CÆSAR.

dead Carcases, and the Want of Water, in a very indifferent State: while themselves enjoyed an extraordinary Share of Health, and had Plenty of fresh Water.

Pompey therefore attempted an Eruption many Times to no Purpose. In one Day he had no fewer than fix Engagements in different Places, in which he lost two thousand Men; amongst them many Officers, and some Persons of Note. Whereas CÆSAR's Less amounted to no more than twenty Men in all Places. But in one of the Castles that was attacked, every Soldier was wounded. Four Centurions out of one Cohort lost their Eyes. And when they would bring a Testimonial of their Toil and Danger, they counted out before their General about thirty thousand Arrows which had been shot against them, and the Shield of Scava, one of the Centurions, was found pierced with two hundred and thirty Openings. Him CESAR most liberally rewarded, and nobly preferred; and honoured the Cohort with double Pay, and a double Allowance of every thing from that Time.

There were amongst Cæsar's Cavalry two Brethren of the Allobroges, named Roscillus and Ægus, Men of singular Valour, whose Services had been very useful, and whom therefore he had much honoured and enriched. These had defrauded the

Horse under them, and used them so ill, that in a Body they petitioned Cæsar for Redress. He, knowing this to be no Season for Animadversion, and making great Allowances for the Bravery of the Persons accused, put off the Affair; yet did not fail to reprove them in private. This gave great Offence; insomuch that, with a sew of their Clients, they deserted to Pompey, and were received by him with open Arms, and much Ostentation; for before this no Soldier had deserted from Cæsar; whereas almost daily they went over to him from Pompey. These two then, being acquainted with every thing relating to the Army and the Works, gave Intelligence of all.

In Consequence of this, Pompey ordered his Mento make Osier Baskets to collect Rubble with; which, with a great Number of light-armed Troops and Archers, he put into his Boats and Pinnaces, and at Midnight began his March with sixty Cohorts, for the Part of Cæsar's Works adjoining to the Sea, and which was farthest from his great Camp. Thither he ordered his Boats, and what long Ships he had at Dyrrachium, with the Rubble and the light Infantry. Lentulus Marcellinus commanded there with the ninth Legion; and, being sickly, was assisted by Fulvius Postumus.

In this Place was a Fosse fifteen Feet deep, and

a Rampart ten Feet high, and as many broad; and POMPEY AND opposite to it, at the Distance of fix hundred Feet. another Rampart, not quite fo high. CESAR had made this double Wall fome Days before, that they might not be furrounded from the Shipping. the Cross-Wall at the End, which was to join the two Ramparts, was not finished. This Pompey learned from the Deferters; and it brought no small Inconvenience upon the Cafareans. For, as the Cohorts of the ninth Legion had their Lodgment by the Sea, the Enemy came upon them unexpectedly by Break of Day; at the same Time, the Soldiers carried round by Sea threw their Weapons within the outer Rampart, and filled up the Ditches; then landing, entered where the Work was deficient, charged them. and obliged them to turn their Backs.

Marcellinus, hearing of this Confusion, sent some Cohorts to their Assistance. But these were neither able to confirm the others, nor to stand themselves against the Impetuosity of the Enemy. Thus, instead of carrying Relief, they served only to augment the general Terror and Consusion: so that all the Centurions of the first Cohort were slain, except one.

The Pompeians were now advancing to the Campos of Marcellinus, when Antony, who commanded in the next Station, was feen descending from the

This repressed the Assailants, encouraged the others, and gave them Time for Recollection. Not long after, Cæsar, observing the usual Signal of a Smoke along the Castles, drew out some Cohorts, and marched thither himself: where, finding that Pomer was now got without the Entrenchments, and could have free Foraging, he determined to alter his Method of Proceeding.

CESAR had some Days before formed a Camp four hundred Paces from the Sea; but afterwards changing his Mind, had removed himself a little farther on A while after Casar had left it, Pompey took Possession of it; and intending to place there a greater Number of Forces, phad enlarged the Compass of it, by raising a new Rampart without. So that in fact here were two Camps, the one inclosing the other; and all the Works were perfect. Also from the left Angle of the Camp he had drawn. a Line to the River, for the greater Freedom of Watering: but for some Reasons he too had changed his Mind, and quitted the Place. CESAR's Spies. brought Word to him, that several Cohorts, appearing to be a Legion, were marching into this, Camp; and the same Thing was confirmed from the Castles above. The Place was about five hundred. Paces, or half a Mile, from the new Camp of Pom-

CÆSAR.

PEY. CESAR therefore, defirous of healing the Pompey and Misfortunes of the Day, determined, if he could, to cut off this Legion. To this End he took with him three-and-thirty Cohorts, including the ninth Legion, which was much thinned by the Loss of many Centurions and Soldiers, and marched privately to the Place, whither he came before Pompey perceived him, and began the Attack at the Lefthand Corner. Before the Gate was a wooden Engine armed with Spikes. Here some Resistance was made. The Camp was gallantly defended by T. Pulcia. But CESAR's Forces got the better; and, cutting away the Engine, broke first into the greater and afterwards into the smaller Camp, whither the Legion had retired. But here he experienced a Change of Fortune. For the Cohorts. of CESAR's right Wing mistook the Line which led to the River for the Fortification of the Camp, passed over it (for there were no Defenders) and were followed by all the Horse.

Meantime Pompey, being informed how Matters went, brought the fifth Legion to the Relief of his Men. At the same Time his Horse advanced against CESAR's, and a sudden Change ensued. For the Pompeian Legion, encouraged by the Hope. of speedy Relief, defended themselves manfully at the Decuman Gate, and charged their Opponents.

And

CARSAR.

POMPEY AND And CESAR's Cavalry, which had marched with Difficulty along the Line, fearing to have their Retreat cut off, began to fly. The right Wing too, which was separated from the left, observing the Horse to be terrified, returned back, many of them throwing themselves headlong into the Ditch of the Line, which was ten Foot deep, while the rest made their Way over their Bodies. And now the Soldiers of the left Wing, seeing Pompey at Hand, and their Comrades flying, and having an Enemy both within and without, rushed back the Way they came. Thus all was Tumult, Fear, and Flight: infomuch that when CESAR laid hold of the Enfigns of those who fled, and commanded them to stand, some quitted their Horses and ran for its while others left their Ensigns behind them.

> It was well for them that POMPEY, who feared an Ambush, and had seen his own Mem flying from their Camp a little while before, was backward to advance; and his Cavalry was retarded by the narrow Passes and the Gates, which were crowded with CESAR's Soldiers. Thus little Matters proved of great Moment. And the Line drawn from the Camp to the River, both marred the Victory of CESAR and the Speed of the Pursuers. In the two Engagements of this Day, CESAR lost nine hundred and fixty Soldiers, besides thirty military. Tribunes

CÆSAR.

and Centurions, and several Persons of Distinction. Pompey and On this Occasion, Pompey was faluted Imperator. by his Army. He afterwards delivered up the Captives to Labienus, at his Request; who had them: drawn out by Way of Ostentation, and, calling them: Fellow-Soldiers, and asking them, with a contumelious Sneer, "If Veterans were used to fly," put them all to the Sword in public View.

This Success gave so much Confidence and Spirit to the Party of Pompey, that they judged themfelves already victorious, and thought no longer of the Means of conquering. CESAR, thus driven from all his former Defigns, withdrew his Garrisons, and affembling the whole Army, punished and degraded some of the Enfign-bearers, and by kind and foothing Speeches infused new Spirit into the rest. Having taken Care of the Sick and Wounded. he fent forward all the Carriages and Baggage to Apollonia in the Evening, under the Guard of one Legion. Two he retained in the Camp, and ordered the rest to march for the same Place very early in the Morning. A little while after, he ordered the March to be proclaimed, and followed! them. Nor did Pompey stay long behind, as hoping (for he supposed them, to be incumbered with) Baggage, and full of Apprehensions) to gain some Advantage of them upon the March. He therefore: dispatchedi

POMPEY AND CÆSAR.

dispatched his Cavalry to stay the Rear; but could not come up with them till they had gained the River Genusus. There CESAR ordered his own Horse against them, with whom he mixed four hundred of his Vanguard, who repulsed them with confiderable Lofs.

CESAR, having marched as far as he proposed, and passed the River, entered his old Camp over against Asparagium, and, keeping all the Soldiers within the Rampart, fent out his Horse, as with Defign to forage, but with Orders to return prefently to the Camp by the Decuman Gate. POMPEY likewise took Possession of the Camp which he had before near the same Place. But his Soldiers, having no Work to do, the Fortifications being entire, dispersed themselves different Ways, some for Wood and Water, some for Forage, and others, on Account of their having fet out in a Hurry, and left their Baggage behind them, hasted back to their former Camp. While they were thus employed, as CESAR had foreseen, he rose suddenly, and marched eight Miles further; which Pompey, by the Departure of his Soldiers, was disabled from doing.

The next Day CÆSAR, fending forward his Carriages and Baggage as before, followed early himfelf. And this he continued to do for some Time. By which Means he had Leisure to pass the deepest

Rivers

Rivers and most difficult Roads without Damage. Pompey and For Pompey, finding his Endeavours vain, had difcontinued the Pursuit on the fourth Day, with Defign to enter upon other Measures.

CÆSAR.

Scipio, the Father-in-law of Pompey, having left his Province and the Parthians behind him, was at this Time in Macedonia, on his Way to join him. In the same Parts was Domitius Calvinus, the Lieutenant of CESAR, whom he was now intent upon joining, with this View; that if Pompey should follow, and be thereby drawn from his maritime Supplies, the War might be carried on upon more equal Terms: but if he should pass into Italy, then, in Conjunction with Domitius, he could march to the Relief of it through Illyricum: and, if he should attack Apollonia and Oricum, with Design to exclude him from the Sea-coast, himself could besiege Scipio, and oblige the other to march to his Affiftance.

Leaving therefore four Cohorts at Apollonia, one at Lissus, and three at Oricum, CESAR began his March through Epirus and Acarnania. Pompey then judged it necessary to move towards Scipio, that he might be ready to affift him on Occasion; or that, if his Adversary, in Expectation of his Supplies from Italy, should not chuse to leave the Coast, he might fall upon Domitius with all his Vol. I. Forces.

Forces. Celerity was therefore the Point with respect to both. But CESAR, by calling at Apollonia, was too much upon the Left; whereas Pom-PEY was in the direct Road through Candavia to Macedonia. It happened too that Domitius was then gone to Heraclea Sentica, for Want of Provisions; fo that Fortune seemed to have thrown him in POMPEY's Way. It was industriously given out at the fame Time, that "CESAR was flying, after having "lost almost all his Forces at Dyrrachium." These Reports had made some Cities averse to him, and rendered the Ways unsafe for his Messengers, so that many of them, fent by him to Domitius, and by Domitius to him, could by no Means perform the Journey. But it fell out luckily enough, that the two Deferters, Roscillus and Ægus, meeting with the Scouts of Domitius, with whom they were well acquainted, as having ferved together in Gaul, informed them in a Bravado of all that passed, and of CESAR's March and Pompey's Approach. which Intelligence, Domitius got the Start of the Enemy by four Hours only, and made fo good Use of his Time that he came up with CESAR at Æginium, on the Confines of Thessaly.

After this Junction, Casar marched to Gomphi, which is the first Town of Thessaly, as you come from Epirus. This People, a few Months before, had

Pompey and Cæsar.

had fent Deputies to Cæsar, and desired him to send them a Garrison; but on the News of the Engagement at Dyrrachium, they now prepared for their Desence, and sent to Pompey for Relies. But as soon as Cæsar had fortissed his Camp, he ordered Ladders and Sheds to be made, and Flakes to be provided, and the same Day made himself Master of the Place by Assault before Sun-set, and gave the Plunder of it to the Army. Thence he marched to Metropolis, before the News arrived of his having stormed Gomphi.

The Metropolites were at first of the same Disposition, but, being made acquainted with the Fate of Gomphi, submitted; and their Example was sollowed by all the Towns of Thessay, Larissa only excepted, which had been strongly garrisoned by Scipio. And now Cæsar, having possessed himself of a convenient Situation in the Country, where the Corn was almost ripe, determined there to wait for Pompey.

A few Days after this, Pompey arrived in Thessaly, having joined Scipio by the Way. There were now two great Armies together, by which the Hopes of the Party were raised to the highest Pitch. They differed openly for the Rewards of Conquest; disposed of the Consulate for Years; and made Interest for the Houses and Effects of the Casareans.

Pompey and Cæsar.

Domitius Ahænobarbus, Scipio, and Lentulus Spinther, quarrelled bitterly for the High Priesthood of Cæsar; when Lentulus pleaded the Honour of his Age; Ahænobarbus, his Interest in the City; and Scipio, his Affinity to Pompey. All of them, in short, were busied about Honours for themselves, or pecuniary Rewards, or the Destruction of their Enemies; and considered only how to use their Victory, not how to gain it.

Now that his Provision of Corn was gathered in, the Spirits of his Men confirmed, and a sufficient Interval had passed since the Engagements at Dyrrachium, CESAR thought proper to try the Courage of the Enemy, drew out his Forces, and offered him Battle, which the other declined. This he continued to do daily, and it much increased the Courage of the Soldiers. But being vaftly inferior in Cavalry, he was folicitous to remedy that Defect. He therefore selected a considerable Number of the fleetest and most active young Men in his Army, whom he exercised every Day amongst his Horse. And they were at last become so expert, that a thousand of his Horsemen, affisted by these, would sustain the Charge of seven Thousand, and be but little terrified with their Multitude. Of this he had made some Sort of Trial, having successfully

cessfully engaged the Enemy's Cavalry, and flain POMPEY AND one of the Allabrages, with several others.

CÆSAR.

CASAR, feeing that he could not bring Pompey to a decifive Action, had refolved upon a new Method, which was, by moving from Place to Place, and being always upon the March, to try if he could not fo find an Opportunity of fighting. His Tents were accordingly taken down, and the Signal already given for the March, when it was observed, that Pompey's Army, contrary to their Custom, was come forward lupon the Plain; and farther from their Camp than usual, for that a Battle might be fought upon no disadvantageous Ground. Turning, therefore, to the Ranks, who were then passing the Gates, "We must defer our March," says he, " for the present, and think of engaging the Ene-" my, as we have always wished to do: let us call " forth our Courage for Action: we shall not easily "find another Opportunity." This faid, he prefently led out his Forces.

Pompey too had, as was afterwards known, at the earnest Persuasion of his People, determined to come to a Battle. For he had been heard to fay in Council fome Days past, that "CESAR's Army " should be repulsed before the Fronts could en-" gage." This was spoken in Confidence of his. very numerous Cavalny, with which he hoped to flank: Pompey and Cæsar.

flank and furround his Enemy. He had in his left Wing the two Legions delivered up to him by CESAR at the Beginning of the Diffension, one of which was called the First; the other, the Third. In this Place was Pompey. The Center was commanded by Scipio, at the Head of the Syrian Legions. The Cilician Legion, joined to the Spanish Cohorts, which had been brought over by Afranius, composed the right Wing. These Pompey looked upon to be very firm. The rest of the Cohorts were posted between the main Body and the Wings. The Whole amounted to forty-five thousand effective Men, exclusive of Auxiliaries. Seven Cohorts he had left behind, as a Guard to the Camp and the adjoining Castles. His right Wing was closed by a River with steep Banks. For which Reason all his Cavalry, and all the Archers and Slingers, were posted on the Left.

The tenth Legion composed the right Wing of Cæsar, and in his left was the ninth, though sadly diminished by the Engagements at Dyrrachium. He therefore joined to it the eighth, so as in a Manner to make one of the two; with Orders to assist each other. His whole Force amounted to two-and-twenty thousand Men. Antony commanded the left Wing, P. Sulla the right, and Domitius Calvinus the main Body. Himself took Post over against

CÆSAR.

against Pompey; where, fearing to be furrounded Pompey AND by the Multitude of his Cavalry, he felected fix Cohorts out of his third Line to oppose to them; putting them in Mind, at the same Time, that the Fortune of the Day depended upon their Bravery. He then harangued the Army, according to military Custom: "reminded them of the many Offers of "Peace which he had made in vain; that he was " far from defiring wantonly to shed the Blood of " his Soldiers, or from wishing to deprive the "Commonwealth of either of its Armies." This faid, and finding them eager for the Battle, he gave the Signal by Sound of Trumpet.

There was in the Army of CESAR a veteran Captain, named CRASTINUS, a Man of fingular Bravery: This Man, when the Signal was given, cried out, "Follow me, my Comrades of old, and pay that "Duty to your Commander which you have still or professed. This Battle only remains; which over; both he shall recover his Dignity, and we our "Liberty." Then, turning back upon CASAR, "This Day, General," faid he, "you shall thank "me, living or dead." He then ran forward, and was followed by about a hundred and twenty choice: Volunteers.

There was a due Space for engaging between the two Armies; but Pompey had ordered his Front to receive

Pompey and Cæsar.

receive the Charge without stirring, supposing that the Enemy would by these Means be out of Breath and disordered. But they, when they ran forward, observing this, being taught by Experience, and versed in Action, stopped short in the Midst of their Course, and in a little while ran forward again, threw their Javelins, and presently, as they had been ordered, drew their Swords. Nor were the Pompeians backward on their Part; for they flood the Shock, discharged their Weapons, and drew their Swords in like Manner. At the same Instant the Cavalry from Pompey's left Wing advanced, and the whole Multitude of Archers spread themfelves abroad. CESAR's Horse could not stand the Charge, but gave Ground a little: on which those of the Enemy pressed them hard, and began by and by to open in Squadrons, and fall upon the Flank. CESAR observing this, gave the Signal to the feparate Body, confisting of the fix choice Cohorts already mentioned, who immediately charged that numerous Body of Horse with such Impetuosity, that not one of them stood his Ground; but all, wheeling round, fled to the Mountains on full Speed. Then the Archers and Slingers, unarmed and unprotected, were cut in Pieces. With the like Impetuofity the fame Cohorts fell upon the Rear of Pompey's Army.

2 2 2

CÆSAR.

At the same Time CÆSAR ordered his third Line, POMPEY AND which had hitherto flood still, to advance. Thus fresh Men relieving those that were tired in the Front, and others attacking them in the Rear, the Pompeians could no longer sustain the Onset, but all turned their Backs and fled. As foon as POMPEY faw his Horse driven off the Field, and that Part of his Army, in which he most consided, struck with Terror, he left the Army, and, riding to the Camp, entered his Pavilion, despairing of Success, yet anxious for the Event.

The Pompeians being now driven within their Intrenchments, CESAR gave them no Time for Recollection, but encouraged his Troops by all Means to affault the Camp while they were in this Consternation. Though almost overcome with Heat (for the Action had lasted till Noon) they yet obeyed his Orders. The Camp was industriously defended by the Cohorts left for that Purpose, and much more by the Thracian and other Barbarian Auxilia-As for those who had fled from the Battle, they were wearied and terrified to the last Degree; and most of them, throwing away their Arms and military Enfigns, thought of nothing but how to fave themselves. Nor did they, who stood upon the Rampart, hold it any confiderable Time; but, being most of them wounded, made for the very high Mountains Vol. I. R

Pompey and Cæsar.

Mountains which were near, under the Command of their Centurions and Tribunes.

In the Camp of Pompey, when taken, you might have seen the Tables spread in Order, a vast Quantity of Plate exposed, the Tents laid with fresh Turves, those of Lentulus and others covered with Ivy, and many other Things which bespoke an immoderate Luxury, and too great a Confidence of Victory: fo that you might easily judge those to have been under no Apprehensions of the Event of that Day, who could look out unnecessary Pleasures for themfelves. Pompey now mounted his Horse, and fled in Disguise towards Larissa; nor stopped there, but having in his Flight picked up a few of his. Followers, travelled all Night, and came at last to the Sea-coast, attended by thirty Horse. Here he found a Vessel, and went on board it, often complaining, "that he should have been so mistaken, as to hope for Victory from that very Set of Men, "who had been the first to run away, and the " readiest to betray him!"

CESAR, though possessed of the Enemy's Camp, entreated his Soldiers not to busy themselves with Plunder, but to complete their Success; and, having obtained this, he began to draw a Line round the Mountain to which the Cohorts had retreated. But when they perceived this, they left the Place, and

went

went on for Larissa. He therefore divided his Pompey and Forces, and fent Part of them into Pompey's Camp, and Part into his own; and with four Legions marched after them fix Miles, and then drew up his Men. The Pompeians, observing this, halted upon another Mountain, the Foot of which was washed by a River. Then CÆSAR, though his Soldiers were quite worn out with the continual Fatigue of the whole Day, yet prevailed upon them to draw a Line béfore the River, to prevent them from coming at the Water by Night. When this was done, they furrendered upon Articles. few of the Senatorian Order, while the Negotiation was carrying on, made their Escape by Night.

At Break of Day CÆSAR commanded all those who were upon the Mountain to descend, and lay down their Arms. This done, he dismissed them, with their Effects, in Safety. He then ordered other Forces from the Camp to attend him; and, remanding those already with him back to rest, came to Larissa the same Day.

In this Battle Cæsar lost no more than two hundred Soldiers, and about thirty Centurions. Crastinus also fell, most valiantly fighting, being struck with a Sword in at the Mouth. On Pompey's Part, about fifteen thousand were slain, and four-andtwenty thousand surrendered to the Conqueror. Pompey and Cæsar.

One hundred and eight military Ensigns were taken, and nine Eagles. L. Domitius, as he fled from the Camp towards the Mountains, being unable to proceed through Fatigue, was slain by the Horse in the Pursuit. It was of the Father of this Gentleman, that Crassus humorously said, "No wonder that he should have a Beard of Brass, who has a "Face of Iron and a Heart of Lead."

CESAR was now bent upon following Pompey whitherfoever he should go, to prevent him from collecting fresh Forces, and renewing the War. He therefore marched every Day as far as he could with his Horse, ordering one Legion to come after. The latter had failed to Amphipolis; and, having stayed there only one Night, and taken what Money he thought proper, went on to Lesbos, where he took on Board his Son Sextus, and his Wife Cornelia. with whom his Interview was very affecting. Thence he came to Cilicia, having by the Way collected fome Ships and Men, and fo to Cyprus. There he heard that the City of Antioch had declared for CESAR, who was reported to be not far off. He then made Sail for Egypt, and arrived at Pelusium, having with him some military Stores, and two thousand armed Men, whom he had picked up in his Voyage. There it happened that young Ptolemy, with great Forces, was waging War with his Sifter Cleopatra,

CÆSAR.

Cleopatra, whom he had lately expelled; and the POMPEY AND two Camps were not far distant. To him Pompey fent, imploring Protection and Assistance, for his good Offices to his Father, whom he had restored to his Kingdom. But the Messengers, afterwards, talking too freely with the Soldiers, and exhorting them to take Part with POMPEY, excited some Jealoufy; for many of them were Pompey's old Soldiers, whom Gabinius had led thither from Syria, and left with Ptolemy's Father. On this the King's Friends, who, on Account of his Minority, were Regents, whether induced, as they afterwards gave out, by their Fears that Pompey would gain the Good-will of the Army, and feize upon Alexandria and Egypt; or looking with Contempt upon his Fortune, as it usually happens to the afflicted, commanded that he should attend the King; and prefently after fent Achillas their General, and Septimius, one of their Military Tribunes, to dispatch By these he was received into a little Boat, in order, as they pretended, to be conveyed on. Shore, and there murdered.

Thus fell POMPEY THE GREAT, after three Confulfhips, and as many Triumphs, in the fixty-fecond Year of his Age; and to him, for whose Victories the World was too little, Earth was wanting for his Burial. He had many Excellencies, and

THE MEDALLIC HISTORY

Pompey and Cæsar. fome Faults. Amongst the last, was a natural Bias to Severity; insomuch, that those of his own Party dreaded his Success. And it must appear evident enough, to those who consider attentively this Part of the Roman History, that the Change of Government which ensued, was originally owing to his Ambition: for, could he have admitted of an Equal in the State, the Civil War, which brought it on, and which proceeded thus unhappily for himself, might have been easily avoided.

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AESAR, arriving at the Hellespont, crossed it, C. IVL. C. ESAR.

and in his Passage received the Submission of C. Cassus, one of Pompey's Admirals, who joined him on the first Summons. In Asia he shewed himself most humane and obliging to all Ranks of People. Their Customs he changed into an easy Tribute, remitting one-third of the Whole, and delivering them from the Extortion of the Publicans. And here he left C. Vibius Pansa to superintend for a Time his Affairs in this Quarter. This, I suppose, gave Occasion to the striking of some Medals by the Pergamenians, one of which, described by Vaillant in his Nummi Græci Imperatorum, is in the Cabinet of the French King. It has the Title ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ,

and

C. IVL. CÆSAR. and the Head of CÆSAR without the Laurel, and the Words ΕΠΙ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΟΥΙΒΙΟΥ ΠΑΝΣΑ under Caius Vibius Pansa. On the Reverse, is a Victory moving towards the Left; in her right Hand a Wreath, and in her left a Palm-branch.

Hearing now that Pompey had been seen at Cyprus, and conjecturing that he was gone for Egypt, he embarked with what Forces he had, being one Legion from Thessaly and another from Achaia, with eight hundred Horse, on board ten long Rhodian Ships and some Afatic Vessels, and arrived at Alexandria. In these Legions were only three thoufand two hundred Men, the rest, from their Wounds and Fatigues, not being able to follow. But he depended upon the Fame of his Success, and looked upon every Place as fafe. Here he was informed of the Death of Pompey, whose Head was brought to him, which he viewed with Tears, and caused to be honourably interred. At his Landing there was a great Concourse of People, who took Offence at his having the Fasces borne before him. Observing the mutinous Disposition of the Alexandrians, he gave Orders for other Legions to be conveyed to him from Asia, which he had formed of the Pompeian Soldiers. In the mean Time he was neceffarily confined by the Winds, that blow constantly from the Sea at this Season of the Year. Judging therefore

therefore that the Decision of the Controversy be- C. IVL. CÆSAR. tween the King and his Sister belonged to him as Consul, because in his former Consulship the Alliance had been made between *Ptolemy* and the *Roman* People, he let the King know that it was his Pleasure that the Armies should be disbanded on both Sides, and the Cause brought before him.

While Matters were thus carrying on in Egypt, at Rome various and unusual Honours were conferred on Cæsar; among others, the Consulship for five Years, the Tribunitial Power for ever, the Præsidence at Elections, and the Dictature for an entire Year. This Office he entered upon immediately, declaring Marc Anthony his Master of the Horse.

An Eunuch, named *Pothinus*, was at this Time one of the Guardians of the young King. This Man first of all began to utter Complaints, and to express his Indignation, "that the Sovereign of *Egypt* should be called to a Trial:" and afterwards, having gotten some of the King's Friends to be his Coädjutors and Accomplices, he sent private Orders for the Army to march from *Pelusum* to *Alexandria*, and appointed *Achillas* to be Commander in Chief of all the Forces.

Ptolemy Auletes had two Sons and two Daughters, and appointed by his last Will the eldest Son and Vol. I.

C. IVI. CESAR. the eldest Daughter to be King and Queen of Egypt; it having been usual for the Kings of Egypt, as well as of Persia, to marry their Sisters. At the same Time he adjured the Roman People, by the Alliance which he made with them, to be Guarantees thereof. One Copy of it was fent to Rome by his Ambassadors, to be deposited in the Treasury, and another was kept at Alexandria. On these Grounds CESAR undertook the Arbitration of this Affair; in which he was proceeding, when News were brought him that the Royal Army, with all the Cavalry, were on the March for Alexandria. His own Forces were by no Means fuch as he could venture an Engagement with in open Field. He was therefore constrained to secure that Part of the Town in which he was. Yet he ordered all his Soldiers under Arms, and persuaded the young King (whom he had in his Power) to fend some of his Friends of greatest Authority to Achillas, to Dioscorides and Serapion. intimate his Pleasure. who had been Ambassadors at Rome, were dispatched away to him accordingly; but, as foon as they came before him, or ere they could deliver their Message, were ordered to be slain. This was fully executed upon one of them, and the other was left for dead.

The Forces of Achillas were neither despicable

for Number, Kind, nor military Experience. He C. IVL. CASAR. had twenty thousand of the Soldiers which Gabinius had brought into Egypt. These were now become perfect Alexandrians, and had quite unlearned the Name and Discipline of Romans, had taken Egyptian Wives, and had, most of them, Families. To these were added a great Number of Outlaws and Banditti from Syria, Cilicia, and the neighbouring Countries: many more condemned and banished Persons, and Deserters from the Roman Armies. For all such there was a sure Resuge in the Egyptian Besides these, there was a Body of two thousand Cavalry, which had seen much Action. With these Forces did Achillas, looking with Contempt upon the Weakness of CESAR, enter Alexandria, and attack the Quarters which he had taken Possession of. And thus was CESAR entangled in a War against far superior Forces, and in the Heart of the Enemy's Country.

This unseasonable and unnecessary War is a great Reflection upon the Prudence of Cæsar, both as a General and a Statesman, and can only be accounted for from the bewitching Charms of Gleopatra. She had found Means to be conveyed to him one Evening, bound up in a Mattress, and carried upon the Shoulders of one of her own Servants. She complained of being betrayed by her Agents, and

C. IVL. CÆSAR. was defirous of pleading her own Cause; which she did so effectually before the next Morning, that the Partiality of her Judge was from thenceforth very evident. This War was variously carried on by Sea and Land. By Sea he gained three Victories over the Egyptian Fleet, but the second of them with great Hazard to himself; being obliged to fwim for his Life from one Ship to another, which he did, holding up his Writings in his left Hand to preserve them from the Water. In the Course of it he received one Legion, fent by Calvinus from Asia, and withstood many Assaults upon his Quarters by the Egyptian Army.

At length his Friend Mithridates of Pergamus, whom he had fent, foon after his Landing, into Syria and Cilicia, to collect what Troops he could, came with a great Army to his Assistance, and took Pelusium by Storm. Ptolemy sent out a great Detachment against him, but it was defeated. After which, CESAR and Mithridates joined their Forces, and gained a complete Victory over the young King. He endeavoured to make his Escape, but was drowned in croffing the Nile. Some of his Medals have reached our Times; one of which we give to the Curious from the Pembrokian Collection.

Pl. II. 14.

CESAR now established his Favourite Cleopatra upon the Throne of Egypt. He was naturally of

an amorous Complexion, and became excessively C. Ivl. CESAR. fond of the young Queen, by whom he had a Son, named Cæsarion. Two of her Medals we have here inserted, and one of CESAR, which we suppose to have been struck in Egypt, as a Memorial of his Connexion with this extraordinary Lady.

Pl. II. 15.

Pl. II. 16.

Pl. II. 17.

He was fo taken with her Charms, that he wasted with her three Months beyond the necessary Time. in failing up the Nile, and vifiting the Curiofities of Egypt.

Tempora Niliaco turpis dependit amori, Dum donare Pharon, dum non sibi vincere mavult. Lucan.

The precious Hours he fpent in wanton Play, And, for another, won the dang'rous Day.

At length he was awakened from this Slumber, of Love, by the Reports that Pharnaces had entirely defeated his Lieutenant Domitius Calvinus, and taken Possession of Pontus, where he had exercised unheard-of Cruelties. He therefore lest Egypt, and came into Syria, where he appointed Sextus. Cæsar, his Friend and Relation, to govern the Province. Thence he went to Tarfus, and fettled the. Affairs of Cilicia, as he did those of Cappadocia presently after. When he came near Pontus, and the Confines of Gallogracia, Deiotarus met him in the Habit and with the Gesture of a Suppliant, intreating his Pardon for having joined POMPEY.

This

C. IVL. CASAR. This he obtained, and was ordered to furnish a Legion of his People, whom he had armed and difciplined after the Roman Manner, and all his Cavalry, for the Pontic War.

Arriving in Pontus, he affembled his Forces, which he found but moderate, both for Number and Use. One veteran Legion he had brought with him from Egypt, but so diminished that not quite a thousand Men were left of it. He had three Legions besides, two of which had been defeated before under Domitius, and one just mentioned from Here Ambassadors waited upon him from Pharnaces, promising all Obedience. He therefore infifted upon his quitting Pontus immediately, and making Restitution to the Allies and Citizens of Rome. But observing the King to spin out the Time idly, he determined to come to an Action with him as foon as possible. But this was brought on by Pharnaces himself, who attacked him as he was fortifying his Camp, at great Disadvantage, and was totally defeated. This Victory was obtained, and the War concluded with fuch Celerity, that his Advice of it to Rome was comprized in three Words, VENI, VIDI, VICI: I CAME; I SAW; I CONQUERED. Through Gallogræcia and Bithynia he passed into the proper Asia, deciding all Controversies throughout the Provinces. To Mithridates of Pergamus he gave

the Kingdom of Bosphorus, which had been subject C.IVL. C.ESAR. to Pharnaces, and the Tetrarchy of Gallogracia, which Deiotarus had seized upon; and, staying no where longer than was absolutely necessary, went on and set sail for Italy, where he arrived much sooner than could have been expected.

One of his first Cares after his Landing was, to quiet the Apprehensions of those who had acted against him. He received the Submission of those who waited upon him with the most obliging Condescension. This endeared him to the Public, and drew many illustrious Persons to his Party. By his Arrival at Rome all Disturbances were appealed. He encreased the Number of the Senators by the Addition of many of his Officers and Friends, and, late as it was, thought of creating new Consuls.

A few Days therefore before his Dictatorship was to expire, he appointed to that high Office two of his Lieutenants, Q. Fusius Calenus and P. Vatinius. The first was a Man of Family and Figure, and well became his Dignity. There is a curious Coin of his, bearing the Heads of Honor and Virtue; having in the Area the initial Syllables of each Name, and underneath KALENI: on the Reverse are the Figures of Italia, holding a Cornucopiæ, expressed by the Letters IA, and of Rome resting the Foot upon a Globe, expressed by RO. The Concord, or Union of Italy and Rome at this Time,

Pl. II. 18.

C. IVL. CÆSAR. is fignified by the latter extending the Right Hand to the former, and the Caduceus is the medallic Emblem of the consequent Felicity. From this Coin it appears, that CALENUS was honoured with the Charge of the Temple, which had been erected to Honor and Virtue, and which, under his Direction, was elegantly repaired by Mucius Corpus, (whose Name CORDI fills the Exergue) a most excellent Architect, and at the same Time one of the Triumviri Monetales.

> But this Honour was generally thought to have been vilely prostituted in the Person of Vatinius. a fordid and mean Character; upon whom the Poet Catullus is very humorously witty on this Occasion.

> > Quid est, Catulle, quod moraris emori? Sella in curuli Struma Nonius sedet, Per Consulatum pejerat Vatinius. Quid est, Catulle, quòd moraris emori? Why dost thou hesitate to die, Tell me, Catullus, tell me why? By 's Fasces hear Vatinius forswear, While Nonius fills the Curule Chair; And canst thou then not wish to die? Tell me, Catullus, tell me why?

At the next Election CESAR became Conful, notwithstanding the Continuation of his Dictature; and had for his Colleague, M. Æmilius Lepidus. This third Consulate of CASAR is recorded on a Medal





of Gold, on which is his Head, with the Pontifical C. IVL. CESAR. Attire, and the Title C. CAESAR COS. TERtio. On the Reverse are the Vase, the Sacrificial Ax. and the Lituus, or Augural Staff, being the Infignia of his High Pontificate and Augurate: the Legend A. HIRTIVS PRætor.

PL III. E.

They of the Pompeian Party, who had resolved not to fubmit to the Clemency of the Conqueror, had collected their whole Strength in Africa, under the Command of Metellus Scipio, the Father-in-law of Pompey; and were supported by King Juba, with all his Forces. Their Cavalry was in a Manner infinite. The King had four Legions of his own, besides an immense Number of light-armed Troops, and a hundred and twenty Elephants. Scipio had no fewer than ten Legions, and was affisted by Cato, Labienus, Afranius, Petreius, and other consummate Generals; and the Coast was guarded by several of their Fleets. While CESAR was preparing to fet out against these, a Mutiny happened in that Part of the Army which was quartered in Campania. The Soldiers had been most liberally rewarded for their past Services, yet not altogether answerably to their Expectations. Hence arose Complaints, which, by the Art of fome bufy and unquiet Spirits, flamed out into Sedition and a Tumult, threatening and dangerous Vol. I. enough

C. IVL. CASAR. enough at so critical a Juncture. They marched for Rome, and slew all that had the Misfortune to fall in their Way, and, amongst the rest, two of the Senatorian Order. But CESAR, possessed of the most happy Talent that any Commander could ever boast, that of governing the Minds as well as Perfons of his Soldiers, foon composed this ugly Difference, and fet out for Africa in the Depth of Winter. Here he had feveral Engagements with Parties of the Enemy, both by Sea and Land, and with various Success; but the Advantage was generally with him.

At length, after having tried many other Ways. to bring the Enemy to a decifive Battle, CESAR laid close Siege to Thapsus, a Place of great Importance. which was held by Vergilius with a numerous Garrison. This necessarily brought Scipio to its Relief, who pitched upon the Sea-coast, little more than a Mile from him, and began to fortify his Camp; Labienus and Juba encamping separately. Then CESAR, leaving two Legions to guard his Works, and sending a Part of his Fleet further on, with Orders to shout and alarm the Enemy behind, when the Signal should be given, marched out to attack Scipio. As he came near them, he observed a large Front drawn up, and the Elephants posted in the right and left Wing, while a confiderable Body was.

hard

hard at work upon the Intrenchments. He had C. IVL. C. ASAR. nine Legions, two in each Wing, and five in the Centre. Before each Wing he posted five Cohorts against the Elephants, assisted by all the Archers and Slingers. His light-armed Foot he mingled amongst his Cavalry. Himself traversed the Ranks on Foot, reminding the Veterans of their Bravery and past Atchievements, and with bland Salutations raising their Spirits. The new-raised Men he entreated to "emulate the Virtue of the Veterans," and, by contributing to the Victory, to succeed "immediately to their Reputation, Name, and "Rank."

While he was going round the Army, a confiderable Hurry and Trepidation was observed among the Enemy; on which his Officers befought him to give the Signal. But while he still hesitated, a Trumpet (constrained so to do by the Soldiers) on a Sudden began to sound in the right Wing, and all the Cohorts of their own Accord moved forward, although the Centurions did all in their Power to prevent it. Cæsar, seeing this, gave the Word Felicity. In the mean Time the Slingers and Archers poured their Weapons like Hail upon the Elephants; and the Beasts, terrified with the Whizzing of the Slings and Stones, turned round, and treading down the Ranks behind them, rushed

C. IVL. CASAR. into the half-finished Entrances of the Camp. They were presently followed by the Moorish Cavalry in the same Wing, and the Legions were quickly in Possession of the Enemy's Intrenchments.

> We must not omit in this Place the Bravery of a veteran Soldier of the fifth Legion. A wounded. Elephant in the left Wing, enraged with Pain, had laid hold of an unarmed Sutler, and with horrid-Braying, and his Trunk erected, was stamping hime under his Feet, and killing him. This Sight the Soldier could not bear, but with his Arms advanced towards the Beast, who, observing him, quitted the Carcase, and threw his Trunk around the Soldier, lifting him up on high. In this imminent Danger the Man lost not his Presence of Mind, but with all his Might kept hacking with his Sword the Proboscis that surrounded him, till the Elephant, in great Pain, throwing him down, ran off with hideous Noise to his Companions.

> With the same Vigour the Casareans attacked the Camp of Labienus, and afterwards that of Juba, making themselves Masters of all three, and putting to the Sword ten thousand of them (Plutarch has enlarged the Number to fifty thousand) with the Loss of only fifty of their own Men.

> After this compleat Victory, CESAR marched for Utica, where Cato had shut himself up, and who **flabbed**

stabled himself before his Arrival. He was ho- C. IVL. CÆSAR. nourably interred by the Uticensians, who afterwards opened their Gates to the Conqueror. Juba, with Petreius, fled to Zama, the Capital of his Kingdom. Here he had left his Wives, his Children, his Treafure, and all that was dear to him; and in the Midst of the Town had raised an immense Pile of Wood, with a declared Intent (in case he should fail of Success at last) of killing all the Inhabitants, and burning them, himself, and all that was valuable in the Place together. When therefore he came before it, they refused him Admittance. When he found that Menaces and Entreaties were alike ineffectual, he retired, with Petreius and a few Horsemen, to a Villa of his own; where, that they might feem to die with fome Sort of Bravery, they fought together. Petreius fell, and the King was flain, at his own Entreaty, by one of his own Slaves. Three of his Coins are in the Pembrokian Collection; the largest of which we present to the Reader.

Pl. III. 2.

Faustus Sylla and Afranius were taken Prisoners by a Party of the Enemy, and were afterwards flain, in Consequence of a Dissension amongst the Soldiers who took them. Scipio, with fome others, was endeavouring to make his Escape by Sea; but after being long toffed by contrary Winds, was at length

Pl. III. 3.

C. IVL. CASAR. length driven into the Harbour of Hippo, where, falling into the Hands of the Enemy, he put an End to his Life with his own Sword. Some of his Coins are very curious, which we therefore lay before the Reader. The first has the Head of Africa, covered with the Skin, Teeth, and Proboscis of the Elephant. The Plough and Ear of Corn express the Fertility of the Country. The Title is Q. METEL. SCIPIO IMP. He took the Name of Metellus, being by Adoption the Son of ME-TELLUS PIUS, who commanded with Pompey in Spain; and the Title of IMPERATOR, when he commanded in Syria. "At this Time," fays Cæsar, " Scipio, having received some Rubbs about Mount " Amanus, caused himself to be saluted IMPERA-" TOR." The Reverse has the Figure of Hercules, who was worshipped in Africa, with the Legend EPPIVS LEGatus Fieri Curavit, Eppius being one of his Lieutenants. One of them has the IVPITER TERMINALIS, with the Head of the Eagle underneath, and the Infcription METEL. PIVS. SCIP. IMP. On the Reverse are seen an Ear of Corn, and a Cornucopiæ, to express, as before, the Fertility and Plenty of Africa, where the Coin was struck; and a Curule Chair and Scales, with the Head of the Eagle likewise, to point out the Authority and

Equity of the General. And the Legend tells by

Pl. III. 4.

whom it was struck; namely, his Lieutenant Cras- C. IVL. CÆSAR. fus Junianus, with Prætorian Authority. This is of Gold. His Denarius has the same Face, but an Elephant for the Reverse, as the Type of Africa.

Pl. III. 5.

CASAR now reduced the Kingdom of Juba to the Condition of a Roman Province; and, leaving SAL-LUST the Historian to govern it with Proconsular Authority, took Shipping at Utica, and fet Sail for Italy. He was received with great Honour at Rome, and a Supplication of forty Days was decreed for the Success of his Arms, and a Triumph with white Horses. He was to be seated in a Curule Chair next to the Confuls, and to give his Opinion first. The Appointment of Magistrates, and the Grant of Honours, was referred to him. A Chariot was confecrated, and a Statue erected to him in the Capitol. He was made PRÆFECT OF MANNERS (the Title of CENSOR being judged too mean) for three Years, and Dictator for Ten. In this supreme Office he made his Colleague Lepidus his Master of Horse; whose Head we therefore see on the Reverse of some of the Coins which were struck on this Occasion.

The Triumphs of CESAR were most splendid, and continued for four Days together. His first was most pompous, over the Gauls and Germans;

Figures.

C. IVL. CÆSAR. Figures representing the Rhine, the Rhosne, and the Ocean, being exposed in the Procession, and Vercingetorix led Captive. But the Axle of his Car broke in the Procession, which was held ominous. This retarded, yet added to the Pomp. For when it went forward in the Evening, forty Elephants, bearing Flambeaux, were disposed on each Side, and made the Night as bright as Day. The fecond was over Ptolemy and Egypt, wherein Arsinoe, the Sister of Cleopatra, adorned the Shew. In this the Nile, and the Watch-Tower of Pharos, were represented, and the Figures of Photinus and Achillas, the Murderers of Pompey, were observed with Pleasure. The third was over Pharnaces, King of Pontus, in which the Words VENI, VIDI, VICI, were displayed. And the fourth was over Africa and Juba, wherein the Statues of Scipio, Cato, and others who perished in this Expedition, were disagreeable Objects. Young Juba, the King's Son, was now led in Triumph, but afterwards most carefully educated, and married to Cleopatra Selene, the Daughter of Marc Antony and Queen Cleopatra, with whom he reigned over the Getulians, in Africa, by the Bounty of Augustus. Some of his Medals are still extant in the Cabinets of the Curious.

Pl. III. 6. In his triumphal Medal, struck on this Occasion Goltz. p. 180. by EMILIUS BUCA, one of the Quartumviri Monetales, f. 3. CÆSAR

CÆSAR is faid to be IMPERATOR for the fourth C. IVL. CÆSAR. Time; whose Statue stands on the Reverse, between the Fasces and the legionary Eagle, denoting his Civil and Military Power. (The Masters of the Mint had hitherto been three, but CESAR had now added a fourth to the Number, as appears from another Reverse, struck by the same Officer, with his Name and Title.) This is repeated in another Medal of Gold of the next Year, wherein the augural Staff is before him, and all his Titles are recorded, the Inscription being IMPerator QUARTum; and the Area of the Reverse filled up with AGR PONifex MAXimus. COS. QUAR. DICtator QVARtum. One Coin, denoting his Success, has a Trophy with two Captives at the Foot of it, and in the Exergue Cæsar, with a Venus on the other Side, and a Cupid behind her. Another Denarius has the Venus wearing a civic Wreath, and a Trophy for the Reverse, without Captives, and CESAR in the Area. A third Medal, in Silver, with his laureate Head, and the Lituus behind it, with CAESAR DICTAtor QVARTum, has for the Reverse Bellona armed with Spear and Shield, and furiously driving her bigated Car.

But for a good Part of this Year, which was that of the City DCCVIII, CESAR was fole Conful.

The two Sons of Pompey, with their Adherents, Vol. I. who

Pl. III. 7.

Pl. III. 8.

Pl. III. 9.

Pl. III. 10.

C. IVL. CÆSAR. who had escaped from Pharsalia and Africa, had now collected very considerable Forces in the Spanish Provinces, intending there to make a last Effort. CESAR therefore, being Dictator elect the fourth Time, and also Consul elect the fourth Time, set out for Spain, leaving M. Lepidus, his Master of the Horse, and six more Persons of Rank, some say eight, to superintend the Affairs of the City in the Place of Prætors. The Spaniards were in general well affected to the Family of Pompey; and both themselves and their Leaders were now rendered altogether desperate, as expecting no Mercy; most of them having been before pardoned by the Dictator. Yet he made himself Master of Atequa, their Place of Arms, and of Bursavolis, soon after his Arrival, and then marched towards the Enemy, who were encamped in the Plain of Munda. The Action that enfued was very terrible, and continued the whole Day, the Auxiliaries on both Sides standing aloof and at Gaze. The Pompeians were vaftly superior in Number, and appeared to be equal in Courage. CESAR himself acknowledged, that here he fought for his Life. Provoked at fo obstinate a Resistance, he alighted from his Horse, and threw himself amongst the Enemy, yet, though well seconded by the tenth Legion, could not make them give Ground. His own Men were barely re**ftrained**

strained by Shame from turning their Backs, and C. IVL. CESAR. flying. At length Bogud, the Mauritanian King, who at the Head of his auxiliary African Horse had stood idle all the Day, fell upon the Camp of Pompey. This Labienus perceived, and drawing off five Cohorts, went with them to the Relief of the Camp. Whether this Motion was attended with more Hurry and Confusion than usual, which is probable, or CASAR really imagined that they fled; it occasioned a Panic in the Pompeian Army, and the Dictator took Advantage of it, by crying out to his Soldiers, that Labienus fled. This infused new Spirit into the Legionaries, and the Enemy began to give Ground in every Part. This Success was pushed by CESAR with his usual Vigour, who stormed their Camp, and invested the City of Munda, making a Rampart round it with the Bodies of the Slain. He lost in this Action no more than a thousand Men, and had five hundred wounded. But of the Enemy fell thirty thousand. Thirteen Eagles were taken, besides Ensigns and Fasces, and feventeen of the principal Commanders. Labienus and Attius Varus were flain in the Battle. The elder Pompey fled to Carteia, and thence endeavoured to make his Escape by Sea, but was purfued by one of CESAR's Lieutenants, and flain. His

C. IVL. CÆSAR. His younger Brother retired to Celtiberia, and lay concealed for some Time amongst the Banditti of that Country. Soon after all the Cities in the two Provinces fubmitted, and the Dictator, returning to Italy by the End of the Summer, entered Rome

Pl. III. 11.

in Triumph. The Denarius on this Occasion has on one Side the Figure of HISPANIA, with the Haustorium or Sympulum behind it for the Pontificate of the Conqueror, with II T for secundò triumphata; on the other, a Trophy with a Wreath and facred Shield, and underneath, CAESAR. His Lieutenants, Q. Fabius Maximus and Q. Pe-

Pl. III- 12.

dius, also were allowed to triumph. The Denarius of the former has the galeated Head of ROMA, and on the Reverse a quadrigated Car, with the Triumpher in it, holding an Ivory Sceptre, crowned with an Eagle: the Exergue, Quintus MXimus Quinti Filius Quinti Nepos. That of the latter has also the galeated Head of ROMA, with the Title PR. COS.; but the Reverse has only a bigated Car, with a Victory holding a Palm-branch, and underneath Q. PEDius Marci Filius: the Exergue

Pl. III. 13.

Pl. III. 14.

For the last three Months of the Year the former of these was made Consul, together with C. Trebonius Asper, whose Denarius bears the Head of

Jupiter,

ROMA.

Sheep standing before the Altar, with a sacrificial

Knife: the Exergue CLTREBONIUS C. F.

A Supplication of fifty Days was now decreed by the Senate to the Conqueror, and that he should be honoured with the perpetual Dictature, his Person held facred and inviolable, and his Power extend even to the Tribunes of the People; that the Asfemblies of the People, the Armies, and the public Money, should be entirely at his Command; that all Magistrates should swear Obedience to his Acts; and that both himself, and his Posterity, should bear the Title of IMPERATOR, as expressive of fupreme Authority and Dominion. Therefore on one of his Denarii we see the Globe and Fasces in the Reverse, intimating his Dominion and Authority; the Ax, expressive of his pontifical Dignity; and the joined Hands and Caduceus, the Symbols of Concord and Felicity. In Consequence of this Decree, we have his Head laureated with the Pontifical Veil, and the Title CAESAR DICTator PERPETVO: a Venus Victrix, which was the Word at Pharsalia, forms the Reverse, with the Name of P. SEPVLLIVS MACER, one of the Quartumviri Monetales.

Fabius dying while he exercised the Office of Consul,

Pl. III. 15.

Pl. III. 16.

C. IVL. C. ESAR. Conful, C. Caninius Rebilus, by the Will of the Dictator, succeeded to that Honour for a single His Denarius bears the Head of Roma, and for its Reverse a Tripod, with the Legend C. CA-NINIus REBILVS, and underneath IIII. VIR: by which it appears that he was also one of the Quartumviri Monetales, or Masters of the Mint, as we may properly call them. Of these there had, as we have faid, been usually three, but were now four, by the Dictator's Appointment, and fo contimed till Augustus again reduced the Number.

The Dictator now made it his chief Business to

endear himself to all Ranks of People, by the Distribution of Honours, Largesses, and Entertainments of every Kind, with an unsparing Hand. His merciful Disposition was applauded throughout all the Provinces; and the Senate and People entertained fo grateful a Sense of it, that they decreed for him a Temple to CLEMENCY, and the Title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY: So fays one of the Golden Medals struck on this Occasion, whereon is the Figure of CLEMENTIA, holding a Palm-Branch, and the Name of L. BVCA: on the Reverse is the Delineation of a Temple, with the Legend C. CAESAR PARENS PATRIAE: at the Bottom, EX S. C. But the Denarius struck on the

fame

Pl. III. 18.

Pl. III. 17.

fame Occasion, by P. Sepullius Macer, another of C. Ivl. Cæsar. the Quartumviri, has the Legend of the Reverse, CLEMENTIAE CAESARIS.

It was at the same Time decreed, that the Dictator should have the Power of striking all Money with his own Effigies, which had not been permitted to any Roman before; nor is there the Head of any Magistrate or Commander in Bronze, from the Reign of the Kings to this Time, that we know of, that of POMPEY THE GREAT excepted, which appears at the Beginning of this Work. Hence it is evident, that all those which have the Head of CESAR, however they may allude to former Transactions, were struck after this Time. Perhaps the following was the first that was struck in Consequence of this Decree. It bears the Dictator's Head, veiled and laureated, with the Title above taken Notice of, CAESAR PARENS PA-TRIAE, with the Augural Staff before, and the Apex, or Mitre of the Flamen Dialis, behind, and the Pontifical Attire upon the laureate Head. The Reverse gives the Name and Office of him who struck it, C. COSSVTIVS MARIDIANVS, with the initial Letters of the Words Auro Argento Aere Flando Feriendo.

Pl. III. 19.

But of all the Privileges which had hitherto been decreed by the Senate, none pleafed him more than that

Pl. IV. 2.

that of wearing continually a Laurel Wreath, though that of the triumphal Robe was added to it. This Pl. IV. 1. Privilege is expressed in a Medal of Gold, having the Head of the Julian Venus, with the Inscription CAES. DIC. QVAR. The Reverse has the Laurel Wreath, and in the Centre of it COS. QVINC. for Conful Quintum

The following, also of Gold, seems to have been struck on the same Occasion, bearing the Dictator's laureate Head, with the Inscription C. CAESAR DICT. PERPETVO. On the Reverse he is seated in a Curule Chair, with his triumphal Robe, holding in his Right Hand a Branch of Laurel. Before him is a Sceptre, with the Eagle on the Top, and above that the Mitre of the Flamen Dialis. Behind stands a Victory, placing a Wreath of Laurel upon his Head.

This was the Year of the City DCCIX, when the Dictator had destined Antony sirst, and Lepidus for the latter Half of the Year, to serve him in the Capacity of the Master of the Horse. But he afterwards thought sit to change this Destination, by taking the former for his Colleague in the Confulate; and, as the other should retire to his Province of Narbonne Gaul, and the Hither Spain, to substitute in his Place Octavius, his great Nephew, young as he was. After him, Cn. Domitius Calvinus

was





was to succeed to that Dignity; and Dolabella to C.IVL. C.ESAR. be the next Consul, though not yet of Prætorian Rank. He was now, with the entire Consent of the Roman People, preparing for an Expedition against the Parthians; and as such a War was likely to detain him some considerable Time, he had been empowered to hold the Comitia, and appoint Magistrates for the two or three next Years; or, as Appian says, for sive, which in a great Measure was done accordingly.

At this Time the celebrated Cities of Corinth and Carthage, which had been destroyed one hundred and two Years before by the Romans, were restored by Order of the Dictator, and Colonies drawn out to them; by which Means they speedily recovered a confiderable Degree of their ancient Splendor. The Colonization of the former of these is recorded on some Coins to the Praise of CESAR, wherein it is called the Laus Julia. On one is the Julian Venus, and on the Reverse Bellerophon, the Corinthian, with the Wing of Pegasus, and a Serpent underneath him: the Legend is COLonia IVLia CORINthus. In the fecond is the laureate Head of CESAR, with the Inscription behind it, LAVS IVLI. CORINT: and on the Reverse, Bellerophon, as on the other, with the Chimæra; underneath, L. ATO. IVLIO. II. VIR. It is almost superflu-Vol. I. X ous

Pl. IV. 3.

Pl. IV. 4.

C. IVL. CÆSAR. ous to fay, that this new City of Corinth is that to which St. Paul and St. Clement addressed their Epistles.

Pl. IV. 5.

But amongst other Honours profusely bestowed on the Dictator, a Golden Chair was decreed to be placed for him at all the public Entertainments, and a Crown of Gold enriched with Gems. This appears in the Denarius now before us, if what we call a Crown be not rather the Laurel-Wreath, which had also been decreed. On each Side of it are the Fasces; and the Coin contains the several Titles of the Dictator, CAESAR AVGVR IMP. SEXT. COS. QVIN. PONT. MAX. DIC. PERP. It was also decreed, that yearly, after the Observation of the Latin Festival, called Feriæ Latinæ, he should proceed to the City from the Alban Mount, with an Ovation, and his Lictors crowned with Laurel; which Ceremony was now performed on the seventh of the Kalends of February. On this Occasion he was addressed by many with the Style of King; but remarking that the People took great Offence at this, he answered, that "he was "GESAR, and not King;" yet seemed much difpleased with the Multitude for their Aversion to that Title: and Suetonius observes, that some one had also placed a Diadem on his Statue. This, and the immoderate Honours with which he had been

loaded; the Haughtiness with which he had received the Senate before the Temple of Venus Genetrix, when they waited upon him in a Body, and he disdained to rise to them; his resting, with Sign of Approbation, the Crown upon his Seat, after Antony had placed it on his Head, when he ran amongst the Luperci; and his degrading two of the Tribunes, for making the People believe that he affected Regality; these are the Causes assigned for that Conspiracy against his Person which now took Place.

At the Head of this Conspiracy were Marcus Junius Brutus Cæpio, Caius Cassius Longinus, and Decimus Junius Brutus Albinus. The first of these was the Nephew of Cato, and had married his Daughter, and was himself a Person of much Openness and Candour. He was in Pompey's Army at the Battle of Pharsalia; and CESAR, before the Action began, had given a special Charge to his Army respecting his Safety. He afterwards pardoned him, and received him into his most intimate Friendship. He had made him this Year the first and most honourable Prætor; and there are good Grounds for believing that CESAR intended that he should succeed him in his Honours, and the Government of the Commonwealth. It was indeed supposed by some, that the Dictator was X 2 really GOI'''.

C. IVL. CÆSAR. really his Father, as he was well known to have been too intimate with Servilia, the Mother of Brutus, at the Time corresponding with his Birth. Cassus was of a dark, sullen, and vindictive Disposition, and had much Rancour at Heart against CESAR; who, though he had made bim too Prætor, had yet conferred the Office of most Note and Eminence upon Brutus, which he judged to have been due to himself. He was a Man of Courage, and a good Officer, having faved the poor Remains of the Army when Crassus perished, and afterwards repulsed the Parthians from Syria. Being of the opposite Party, he commanded a Fleet in the Hellespont, when CESAR passed that Way in Pursuit of Pompey; and upon Summons delivered it up to him. Soon after we find him with Cato, and going off from him to CESAR, from whom he received both Pardon and Preferment, but fuch as was not equal to his fancied Merit. Being therefore determined on Revenge, and having drawn in a few Accomplices, under the specious Pretext of afferting the public Liberty, he plied all his Art to bring Marcus Brutus into his Plot, whose Character would give a Sanction to it. And this at length he effected, by scattering written Papers in Places where the other was fure to meet with them; and by distant Infinuations, disposing him to an Emulation

Emulation of his supposed Ancestor, who expelled C. IVL. CASAR. the Kings. But chiefly by the Management of his own Sister, who was the Wife of Cassus, he was at length wrought up to such a Pitch of political Enthusiasm, that when Cassius laid the Scheme before him, he resolved to patronize it. Decimus Brutus joined them readily, though infinitely obliged to the Dictator, having been his Lieutenant in Gaul; being at this Time Governor of the Cisalpine Province, with the Command of three Legions; and being, as appeared afterwards, appointed his fecond Heir by Will. These engaged the two Cascas, Trebonius, and many more, in the fame Conspiracy, to the Number of about fixty, by whom CESAR was flain in the Senate-House, on the Ides of March: on whose Death Dolabella immediately seized the Fasces, in Consequence of CESAR's Appointment, without having Recourse either to Senate or People. His Denarius bears on one Side his own Head, with the Inscription P. DOLABELLA: on the other a Tripod, crowned with a Wreath; on the Left of which is C. TREBON. on the Right L. SEST. P. F. Trebonius at this Time obtained Afia, with Proconfular Authority; and we find this Sestius the next Year acting Proquestore for M. Brutus, in Macedonia.

Thus fell CESAR; how justly we will not fay:

C. IVE. CASAR? only in this we are positive, that he ought not to have fallen by those Hands. And indeed the Conspirators in general seem only, by his Death, to have been aiming at the Power of acting for themfelves without Controul. For we find not one of them, L. Cornelius Cinna only excepted, willing to refign the Authority or Power with which they had been invested by CESAR. "The Corruption of the Senate and People was fuch, that a Restitution of the ancient State was become utterly impracticable. And it is evident, from the Manner in which Brutus founded the Dispositions of Favonius and Statilius, by asking them, "Whether they judged a quiet "Submission or a Civil War to be the more "eligible," that himself looked upon the latter to be inevitable. It is observed of those who embrued their Hands in his Blood, that not one of them outlived the Term of three Years after; that all of them perished by Violence; and several of them by the same Weapon with which they had slain Casar, one no ; steenth a live borrow, ion it The second of the Kight of the

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HE Confusion which the Death of CESAR OCcasioned in Rome was universal. The Senate broke up with fo much Tumult and Hurry, that fome were stifled in attempting to get out of the House, and others wounded by the Daggers of the Conspirators. In the City the Shops and Houses were fuddenly shut up, while Multitudes of the Inhabitants ran different Ways, like Men distracted. Brutus, Cassius, and their Accomplices, walked the Streets with their bloody Daggers in their Hands, and were joined by feveral more Persons, who affected to be thought Well-wishers to their Cause; and afterwards atoned for their Folly with their Lives. The Cap of Liberty was borne as a Standard before them. In this Manner they marched to the Capitol for their Security, and continued there all Night. The next Day they were surprized to find themselves joined by the Consul Dolabella. Whether this was done by the Advice of Cicero, whose Daughter he had married, or to strengthen himself in his Usurpation of the Fasces, the Action was detested; for he had been the most intimate and familiar Friend of CASAR. When therefore he prefently after inveighed against him in the Assembly

Antony and Octavian.

of the People, it was with Difficulty that he escaped being torn in Pieces by them.

Antony now convened the Senate, which he found divided on this extraordinary Occasion. Some were for condemning, others for rewarding, the Conspirators; but a third Party, more moderate, judged it sufficient to pass an Act of Indemnity, into which the Majority came easily, at the Motion of Cicero. It was at the same Time decreed, that "no Alteration should be made in the Acts and Appointments of CESAR."

Lepidus had an Army at the Gates of Rome, and was now encamped with a Legion in the Field of Mars. On the other Side, Decimus Brutus had left the City, and was gone for Cifalpine Gaul, to have his Forces in Readiness for the Defence of the Party. The Act of Indemnity was published; and the Conspirators, having received Hostages for their Safety, descended from the Capitol.

Antony's View, and it may be that of Lepidus too, was to take Advantage of the present Disturbances, in order to establish an absolute Authority in themselves. The Ferment therefore beginning to subside, Antony, and, at his Instigation, Calpurnius Piso, the Father-in-law of Cæsar, began again to blow the Coals of Contention, by proposing

to read his Will before the People. This, though ANTONY AND at first most violently opposed, was at length carried in the Senate; which also decreed a public Funeral and Confectation for the Deceased. Hence, in the Coins and Medals struck of him from this Time, he commonly bears the Prænomen of DIVVS. There is one of Gold, restored by TRAJAN, having a very elegant laureate Head of him, with the Title DIVVS IVLIVS: on the Reverse is a Victory, holding the Fore-finger of the Right Hand to her Mouth, and in her Left the Caduceus; before her is a Serpent, with his Head raised, the Symbol of Divinity: the Legend IMPerator CAESar TRAIANus AVGustus GERmanicus DACicus Pater Patriæ RESTituit.

In a full Assembly of the People, the Will was therefore read. But when in Consequence it appeared, "that Octavius was adopted by CESAR; " that Decimus Brutus, and others of his Murder-" ers, were appointed his fecond Heirs, and other " Legacies for others; to the People in general his. "Gardens upon the Tiber, and to every particular " Man three hundred Sesterces," they were most exceedingly moved. But Antony raised their Passion still higher, by exposing the Body to public View, all covered as it was with Blood and Wounds, and inflaming them at the same Time with an elegant and pathetic Oration in Praise of the de-VOL. I. ceased.

Pl. IV. 6:

ceased. He dwelt largely on his Clemency and Bounty to all, and particularly on the Mercies and Benefits which he had dispensed to those who slew him. This so enraged the People, that they ran in Search of the Conspirators, pouring out Curses upon the rest of the Senators, who had been tame Spectators of his Murder. Meeting with Helvius Cinna in their Way, tho' innocent, and a popular Tribune, yet, mistaking him for the other Cinna, who was concerned in his Death, they tore him in Pieces. Afterwards they raised a funeral Pile in the Forum, and burned the Body. On the same Spot they builded an Altar, and offered Sacrifices to him.

A peaceable Interval being gained, the Consul preserved a Law for the Abolition of the Dictatorship for ever, making the Mention of it capital. The old Soldiers, to whom Cæsar had given Lands, were remanded to their several Colonies, as were the Conspirators to their respective Governments. The Consul Antony took Possession of all Cæsar's Money and Writings, altering the last according to his own Pleasure, and so disposing of all Things in the most absolute Manner, as if Cæsar had made him the Heir not only of his Substance but his Power. He exacted Money, gave away Kingdoms, fold Immunities, and recalled Exiles. And to secure

cure Lepidus, of whom he was much afraid, he transferred the Election of the Pontifex Maximus from the People to the College of Pontifs, and prevailed upon them to elect him to that high Dignity, giving at the same Time his own Daughter to his Son in Marriage.

At the Time of CESAR'S Death, Octavius his Great Nephew, and the Grandson of his Sister Julia, was at Apollonia, where he waited the Arrival of his Uncle for the Parthian Expedition. But soon after the News of that melancholy Event had reached him, he fet fail for the opposite Coast of Italy, intending to act as Occasion should serve. Being certified at Brundusum of the Particulars of his Uncle's Will, and the Disposition of the Peo+ ple at Rome, and having a great Strength, both of Men and Money, which had been forwarded by his Uncle for the intended War, he immediately laid claim to the Inheritance, and assumed the Name of CESAR. When he came to Rome, he stood Candidate for the Tribunate in the room of Cinna, but miscarried through the Opposition of Antony, who dreaded his Success. Yet he prevailed upon Cannutius, who was one of the Tribunes, to introduce him to the Affembly of the People on the Score of the Legacies which his Uncle had bequeathed them. Having this Opportunity of haranguing Y 2 them,

ANTONY AND OCTAVIANI

them, he did not fail to make the most of it, courting their Favour by winning Infinuations, by the Promise of immediate Payment, and by instilling Hopes of farther Bounty. He afterwards exhibited public Games, for the finishing of the Temple of Venus, at a great Expence; but was deterred by the Consul's Menaces from bringing out the golden Chair and Crown, which had been decreed in Honour of the Dictator. During this Exhibition, a Comet made its Appearance with great Lustre for seven Nights together, and the Populace were persuaded that it was the Soul of CESAR received into Heaven. This gave Courage to Octavius, who therefore erected a brazen Statue of his adoptive Father, with a Star upon his Head, in the new Temple. And this Event we shall find by and by commemorated upon his Coins. As this was not prohibited, through Fear of the People, other Decrees were called into Execution: one of the Months received his Name; Festivals were instituted for his Victories, and Sacrifices offered to him. For these Reasons the Soldiers flocked to him, and the People began to murmur loudly against Antony's difrespectful Usage of him; for he had contumeliously, by his Lictors, forced him down from the Place whence he was about to have spoken to the People. After this, he appeared no more for fome Time

OCTAVIAN.

Time in the Forum. But the People expressed their ANTONY AND Indignation against the Consul so openly, that he found it necessary to intimate his Readiness to come to an Accommodation with him. This produced a Conference, and a feeming Reconciliation. But as each had his particular View, fresh Suspicions and Differences quickly sprung up. To recover the Favour of the People, which Octavius bade fair for ingrossing, Antony promoted an Agrarian Law, by which Means, joined to the Interest of his two Brothers, one of whom was Prætor, and the other a Tribune, he obtained of them the Province of Cisalpine Gaul for himself, which Decimus Brutus was in Possession of; and that of Macedonia for his Brother Caius, tho' Marcus Brutus was to obtain it, by the Grant of the late Dictator, and the Confirmation of the Senate. At the same Time, an Act of Indemnity was confirmed (for the Dictator had granted it) for Sextus Pompey, and a Restitution of fuch of his Father's Effects as had been deposited in the public Treasury. But, as for his Estate, Antony kept the greater Part of that for himfelf.

This young Man (Sextus Pompey) after the Battle of Munda, had concealed himself in Catalonia, and after CESAR'S Return to Italy, had collected Strength enough to make himself Master of Bætica; but now, by the Persuasion of Lepidus, threw himself upon

the Mercy of the Roman People. Antony embraced the Opportunity of rendering him this Service, not so much from the Friendship which he professed for Lepidus, as from the Enmity which he bore to Octavius.

This Enmity was now got to that Height, that Provision was made in private for the Exercise of Hostilities on both Sides. Each of them was bent upon assuming the Power of the late Dictator. Antony cared not what Means or Instruments he made use of to this End: but Octavius, young as he was, knew well that he could not fucceed but by the Destruction of the Conspirators, who would be sure to thwart all his Measures. He therefore never lost Sight of this Point. Thus jarred these Competitors for Empire. The Power of Antony was at present more conspicuous and glaring, being the first Magistrate of the Republic: but the Interest of Octavius was more prevalent with the People. They feared the Ambition of the former, and were willing to support the Weakness of the latter.

We have already, in the Frontispiece, given the Curious an exact Delineation of the Features of this young Man, as well as of his Uncle and adoptive Father; two very extraordinary Persons, who, the one for his military and the other for his political Capacity, were perhaps never equalled. This was

done from a Copper Coin of the first Magnitude, in ANTONY AND the inestimable Collection of the Earl of Pembroke; the Inscription on one Side being DIVOS IVLIVS, and on the other CAESAR DIVI Filius.

OCTAVIAN.

Antony was now gone to Brundusium, where the Forces were lately arrived from Macedonia; and Octavius had dispatched thither some of his Agents with Money, to engage them in his own Service. Himself went into the Campania, where he got together a confiderable Body, which he called the Legion of the Evocati; for it consisted of discharged Soldiers, to whom Lands had been given by the Dictator, and who were now again called out or invited to the Service. He then returned to the City before Antony, and harangued the People, prepared by Cannutius for that Purpose. "He renewed in them "the Memory of his adoptive Father, his Exploits "and his Favours; spoke much, yet modeftly, of " himself; accused Antony, and commended highly "the Forces who defired, through him, to tender "their Services to the People for the Protection of "the City." Having been well heard, he prefently. set out for Hetruria, in order to make fresh Levies.

Meantime Antony, at Brundusum, was at first agreeably received by the Forces there; for they looked for a larger Gratuity from him, whom they judged the wealthiest, than Octavius's Emissaries promised.

OCTAVIAN.

ANTONY AND promised. But when they heard him talk of no more than four hundred Sesterces a Man, they prefently grew mutinous, and, though quieted for a While by the Punishment of some of their Centurions, yet, when they came to march for Gaul, went over to Octavius in great Numbers; and two whole Legions, the Martial and the fourth, joined him in a Body. Soon after, he likewise possessed himself of all the Elephants. But Antony, on his Return to the City, staid only to give some necessary Directions, and took the Route to Gaul, to prevent Difturbances there, and was instantly followed by Oc-He had entertained Hopes that Decimus would quietly deliver up his Province and affift him against his Competitor. But Octavius, much at a Loss what Measures to pursue, feared their Junction, yet could not well resolve to join himself with either against the other; for the one was at present his declared Enemy, and the other the Murderer of his Father. However, on mature Deliberation, he refolved to diffemble, and fend an Offer of his Service to Decimus at Mutina, to whom, as well as to the Inhabitants of the Place, who were apprehensive of a Siege, it proved most agreeable.

> Both the Confuls were now absent; Dolabella, at the Instigation of Antony, being gone to take Possession of the Province of Syria. The Senate decreed public

public Thanks to the Mutinensians, for their Attach- ANTONY AND ment to Decimus Brutus, and to the Soldiers who had left Antony; and appointed a Guard for their own Security. These Proceedings gave Satisfaction to many, but to none more than Cicero, who had an irreconcileable Aversion to Antony, and assisted Octavius with all his Eloquence and Interest; in both which he was at this Time very powerful. Such was the State of Affairs, when Caius Vibius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius were declared Confuls for the enfuing Year. Of the former we have several Denarii ex-Two of them have the Head of Proserpine, or the Dea Libera, crowned with a Wreath of Ivy, and behind her PANSA: of the Reverses, one has the Figure of Ceres bearing a Torch in each Hand, with a Plough before her; in the other, the same Goddess is mounted in her Car, drawn by Serpents: the Legend on both is the same, C. VIBIVS C. F. C. N. Another has the Head of Pan, with PANSA underneath, and the Jupiter or IOVIS AXVR for the Reverse, with C. VIBIVS C. F. C. N. But another. which feems to have been more particularly struck on the present Occasion, bearing also the Head of Pan, with C. PANSA underneath it, has the Joined Hands supporting the Caduceus, as expressive of the Felicity arising from Concord, with the Legend AL-BINVS BRVTI F., being the Name of Decimus Bru-Vol. I. \mathbf{Z} tus;

Pl. IV. 7.

Pl. IV. 8.

Pl. IV. 9.

Pl. IV. 10.

Pl. IV. TT.

tus; to whose Assistance both Consuls were immediately commissioned. That of HIRTIUS has on one Side the Female Figure of PIETY; on the other, a Consular Sacrifice, and the Exergue A. HIRTI. A. F.

These Consuls convened the Senate on their Entrance into Office, and three Days were spent in Debate, before they came to any Determination. length, by the strenuous Management of Cicero, a Statue was decreed to Octavius, and a Place in the Senate amongst those of Questorian Rank, with the Liberty of standing for Offices sooner than the Laws allowed. He was impowered to receive from the Treasury the Monies which he had bestowed upon the Soldiers, who, at the Conclusion of the War, were to have Lands distributed amongst them. Commissioners were dispatched to Antony, with pofitive Orders for him to quit Gaul, to disband his Forces, and retire to Macedon. The Soldiers were commanded to return to their respective Homes by a stated Day. The Confuls and Octavius were directed to carry on the War against Antony, and Lepidus and Munatius Plancus to affift them from Transalpine Gaul.

Octavius, therefore, taking Hirtius with him, (for Pansa staid behind to raise more Forces) marched to the Relief of Mutina, now closely besieged, and surprized Bononia by the Way. Antony, leaving his

Brother

Brother Lucius to conduct the Siege, marched off to Antony and meet them. When the Armies approached each other, the German Cavalry, which had before deferted to Octavius, again went off to Antony, who got the better in some Skirmishes. After this, leaving a Part of his Forces to awe the Enemy, he marched with the rest to intercept Pansa, who was coming up from Bononia, laid an Ambush for him, attacked him, and drove him within his Entrenchment. When Octavius and Hirtius had Intelligence of this, the latter set out to meet him on his Return to the Camp, and coming up with them, unprepared as they were, and much fatigued with marching and fighting, obtained a complete Victory. On this Occasion the three Generals were stiled IMPERATO-RES, both by the Army and the Senate. A Decree passed, that they who had fallen in the Action should be buried at the public Expence, and the fame Rewards given to their Families, which themfelves would have received if living. In the former Action Pansa himself was dangerously wounded.

The Generals of the Republic were so elated with this Success, that they advanced close to his Camp, and when, having received Supplies by Silanus, one of the Officers of Lepidus, who pretended to join him without the Knowledge of his Superior, he endeavoured to drive them farther off by a fudden Irrup-

with Difgrace, and direct his Flight across the Alps, where he suffered inconceivable Hardships.

By this Victory, the Fathers at Rome judged themfelves secured. They resolved, therefore, to take little Notice of Octavian. But, as Hirtius had been flain in the last Battle, and Pansa died soon after of his Wounds, they committed the Conclusion of the War to the Care of Decimus fingly; voted a Supplication of fifty Days, and honoured him with a Triumph; gave him the Command of Pansa's and other Legions, and would undoubtedly have given him those of Octavius too, if they had not been too well affured of their Attachment to the Person of their young General; and distributed among his Troops the Rewards which they had promifed to the other. They made Sextus Pompey Commander in Chief of all their Naval Strength, appointed M. Brutus to govern Macedonia, Cassius to command in Syria and make War on Dolabella, who had furprized Trebonius, one of the Conspirators at Smyrna, and put him to Death.

These Proceedings entirely alienated the Mind of Octavian. He therefore privately intimated to Anteny, by the Officers whom he had taken Prisoners and released, his Desire of an Accommodation; which was easily brought about. That General had

now joined his Forces with those of Lepidus, Plan- ANTONY AND cus, Pollio, and Ventidius: the News of which filled the Senate with Terror and Astonishment. In their Distress they had Recourse to Octavian once more, of whose Intrigues with Antony they were ignorant. He, on the other Side, demanded for himself the Confulship, as the Reward of his past, and necessary to promote his future, Services. But this they were by no Means disposed to grant. And the Refusal so irritated the Soldiery, that they obliged him to march straight for Rome. In the Fright which this occafioned, they fent confiderable Sums to be distributed amongst them; but finding that they still came forward, it was deemed adviseable at last to elect him. But when even this was found ineffectual, on a sudden they changed their Measures, sent positive Orders to the Troops to advance no further, and made Preparations for a vigorous Defence. Their Refolution was short-lived. When Octavian approached the Suburbs, their Fears took Place again; they opened their Gates, and Octavian was chosen Consul by the People, though not quite twenty Years of Age, and had for his Colleague Quintus Pedius, a near Kinsman and Heir in Part of the late Dictator's Substance. Their Medals are of Gold, though the former is of Silver also, having on one Side the Head of CESAR OCTAVIANUS, (for fo we shall now

call

Antony and Octavian.

Pl. IV. 12.

Pl. IV. 13.

call him, till honoured with the Name of Augustus) and on the Reverse the Head of Julius, with the Comet, or *Julium sydus*. The latter has the Female Head of CONCORDIA, with Q. PEDIVS M. F. The Reverse a Wreath, and within it SALVS GENERIS HVMANI EX S. C.

Raised to this Height of Power, he found the Senate now as supple as he could wish. They committed to him the Government of the City, complimented him with the Command of Decimus's Legions, which had deferted their Chief, and who had been put to Death by the Order of Antony, and fully confirmed his Adoption; so that from henceforth, he bears properly the Name of CAIVS IVLIVS CAESAR OCTAVIANVS, the Son of Julius. He therefore preferred a Law for the Trial of the Conspirators, in Consequence of which Brutus, Cassius, and many others, were condemned, and their Estates confiscated; amongst whom was Sextus Pompey ranked. But at present, they were out of his Reach. The two first, indeed, were in a Condition to enter the Lists with him, as was the latter foon after. Cassius had been commissioned by the Senate to take Charge of Syria; had fully revenged the Death of Trebonius, and was Master of all the neighbouring Provinces; as was Brutus of all Greece, Macedonia, and Illyricum. They had been invested with the extraordinary

extraordinary Power of raising Armies, Fleets, and Antony and Money: the Governors of all the transmarine Provinces were to obey their Orders, and they quickly found themselves at the Head of twenty Legions. Sextus also, who had been honoured by them with the Command of the Roman Fleet and the Seacoast, on this Occasion seized Sicily, and garrisoned all the strong Places of the Island. Several Coins of these Commanders are to be found in the Cabinets of the Curious. Those of Brutus were struck by L. PLAETorius CESTianus, who was his Quæstor in Macedonia, and are described by Dio Cassius, lib. 47. "On the Coins which he struck," fays he, "he "figured his own Image, and a Cap (the Symbol of "Liberty) and two Poniards; declaring by this, and "the Inscription, that he, with Cassus, had deli-"vered his Country." The Inscription round his Head is BRVTus IMPerator. L. PLAETORIVS CESTIANVS: at the Bottom of the Reverse EIDibus MARtiis. The Title of IMPERATOR was obtained by a fuccessful Expedition which he made from Macedonia against the Bess. Those of Cassius have the Head of Liberty, written with the Diphthong, LEIBERTAS, and C. CASSIus IMP.: on the Reverse are the Vase and Lituus, Symbols of the Pontifical and Augural Dignity of Lentulus Spinther, who joined the Conspirators immediately on the , , . . Death

Pl. IV. 14.

Pl. IV. 15.

Death of CESAR, affecting to be thought one of them, and was at this Time particularly serviceable to Cassius in Asia, where he acted proquestore and proprætore. The Title of IMPERATOR is given to Cassius, for his having defeated the Fleet of the Rhodians, and taken their City. This Medal is of Gold, in the Pembrokian Collection, and finely executed. Of those of Sextus Pompey, we shall have more Occasion to speak hereafter.

To carry into Execution his great Defigns against these Rivals of his Power, OCTAVIAN found it neceffary to invite Antony and Lepidus with their Forces into Italy; towards whom he marched with his Army. His Colleague Pedius was left with a fufficient Force to take Care of the City, with Directions, as foon as he should be at some Distance, to move the Senate in their Behalf. This was done. and they referred themselves to Octavian for his Advice, which was, to grant them Impunity, and the Liberty of returning; but this Counsel, he said, was extorted from him by the Army. The Meeting of these great Men was in a small Island of the River, near Bononia, where, with much Apprehension of Treachery from one another, and all possible Caution, they came to an Agreement for the Confirmation of their joint Power, and the Destruction of their Enemies. It was concluded, that with the Title

Title of TRIUMVIRS, that they should take upon them the Government of the Commonwealth for five Years, disposing of all Offices and Honours; that OCTAVIAN should have Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily; LEPIDUS the two Spains and Narbonne Gaul; and Antony all the rest of Gaul on both Sides the Albs; that they should put to Death all who were likely to oppose them; for which Purpose a Table of Proscription was settled; Lepidus was to be Consul the next Year, and take upon him the Charge of Rome and all Italy, while the other two should carry on the War against BRUTUS and CASSIUS; and, to put them all upon an equal Footing, OCTAVIAN was to refign the Confulship immediately. These Conditions were fworn to on all Sides; and to cement this Alliance, Octavian, at the earnest Request of An-TONY's Army, took his Daughter-in-law, Clodia, to Wife. This done, they all took the Route to Rome, fending before them a Body of Soldiers, with a List of the profcribed, in Order to begin the Execution. These entering the City in the Evening, slew several whom they chanced to light upon in the Streets. Many were flain in their own Houses, in the public Market-places, and in the Temples. Their Heads were exposed before the Rostra, and their Bodies either thrown into the River, or left to be devoured by the Dogs and Birds of Prey. Amongst others Vol. I. fell · A a

Antony and Octavian.

fell Cicero, the great Master of Roman Eloquence. whose Death Antony had positively insisted upon. The several Instances of their Cruelty cannot be read without Horror. Nor did the Carnage cease till near three hundred of the Senatorian and two thousand of the Equestrian Order had lost their Lives and Estates in this most dreadful Massacre, which has fixed an eternal Brand of Infamy upon the Memory of the Triumvirs. Dio Cassius indeed endeavours in some Measure to exculpate Octavian, as by no Means of a cruel Disposition, and inheriting the Dictator's Clemency; as being new to Bufiness, having few Enemies, and wishing to be loved. But the Enmities of LEPIDUS and ANTONY were very extensive, and, that of the latter especially, excessively cruel; to which his Wife Fulvia did not a little contribute. The Consternation of the Citizens is more easy to be conceived than described. But the Endeavours of the Conful Pedius to quiet the Apprehensions of the People, amidst this dreadful Scene of Tumult, Terror, and Distraction, threw him into a Disorder which carried him off in four-and-twenty Hours.

HE Triumvirs entered the City on three different Days, each furrounded by his Guards, and followed by a Legion of Soldiers. A Law passed for the Establishment of their joint Power and Authority for five Years; and then Octavian resigned the Consulship. In his room, C. CARRINAS was appointed for the remaining Part of the Year, as was P. VENTIDIVS in the Place of Pedius. This last was Prætor, and is the first Instance of any Person's being Prætor and Consul in the same Year. No Coin of him, before his Triumph hereafter, is come to our Knowledge. He is said to have been a Muleteer in the former Part of his Life, and concerning him the following defamatory Verses were posted up:

Second Trivmvirate.



Concurrite, omnes Augures, Aruspices;
Portentum inustatum constatum est recens:
Nam Mulos qui fricabat, Consul faëtus est.

Ye, who in Auguries and Entrails trade,
Mark a strange Prodigy at Rome display'd,
For he who curried Mules is Conful made!

There are divers Medals of the Triumvirs which recognize this powerful Connexion. Such are those which bear the Heads of Antony and Lepidus, of Pl. IV. 16, 17, Antony and Cæsar, of Lepidus and Cæsar; those which have for the Reverse, common to all the Pl. IV. 19.

A a 2

three,

Second Trivmvirate.

three, the Mars Ultor galeated, with his left Foot resting on a Shield, the Hasta pura in his Right Hand, and in his Left, the Parazonium or small Sword usually girt upon the military Tribunes at

- Pl. V. 1. their Creation; those of Octavian, which have for the Reverse three joined Hands grasping the Fasces and a Caduceus, with a Globe and Ax in the Area, all Emblems of their Concord, Authority, Felicity, and Power, and the Legend SALVS
- Pl. V. 2. GENERIS HVMANI; those which have the Cornucopiæ common to all three, with L. MVSSIDIVS LONGVS, the Name of the Quartumvir who struck
- Pl. V. 3. them; and some small ones, struck at Ephesus, which have the three Heads upon the Face, and the Ephesian Diana for the Reverse.

Who would think of Triumphs amidst the Sorrows of Proscription? Yet Munatius Plancus, who had joined Antony with three Legions in Transalpine Gaul, was permitted to triumph three Days before the Kalends of January, for his Success over the Rhætians. Two Days after, Lefidus triumphed also; the Senate having decreed him that Honour a Year before, for having prevented a War in Spain, by the peaceable Reconciliation of Sextus Pompey. What was most extraordinary in this Affair, it was ushered in by a public Edict from the Triumvirs, charging all Persons to honour the Day on Pain of Proscription.





Proscription. His Denarius on this Occasion has the Triumpher in his quadrigated Car, holding the Scepter, as usual, with the Inscription M. LEPID. IMP. I'ER, and underneath, PRO COS. The Reverse has a Victory standing upon a Ship, holding a Palm-Branch in one Hand, and a Laurel-Wreath in the other. On the Area, III VIR R. P. C. These two succeeded to the Fasces on the next Day. Plancus had been appointed to this Honour by the late Dictator. His Medal of Gold has therefore the Dictator's laureate Head, with the Star or Comet, and DIVVS IVLIVS; on the other Side the Area is filled up with L. MNATI. PLNCVS PRAF. VRB. Whence it appears that he was also Prefect or Governor of the City. That of LEPIDUS is also of Gold, having his Head with the Augural Staff behind, and the Title M. LEPIDVS PONT. MX. III. VIR R. P. C. COS. I'ER. The Reverse is curious, having the CONCORDIA VICTRIX, holding in her left Hand a Cornucopiæ. The Legend is, C. VIBIVS VARVS, the Name of him who struck it, being one of the Quæstors this Year. There is a much finer Medal of Lepidus, respecting his Pontificate, having around his Head the Infcription M. LEPIDVS III VIR R. P. C.; and for the Reverse, his Figure at Length, arrayed as the Sovereign Pontif, with the Legend L. REGVLVS

SECOND TRIVMVIRATE.

Pl. V. 4.

Pl. V. 5.

Pl. V. 6.

Pl. V. 7.

IIII VIR A. P. F. This Medal is indeed in Gold, but these Letters will stand for either Auro, or Argento, or Aere Publico Feriundo.

The Triumvirs, having by Proscription and other Acts of Tyranny raised the necessary Sums, decreed divine Honours to the late Dictator, and appointed Magistrates for several Years, prepared for the Expedition against Brutus and Cassius. Leaving, therefore, Lepidus for the Security of Italy, Antony and Octavian embarked their Armies at Brundusium and Rhegium, and having landed them safely at Dyrrachium, detached C. Norbanus and Decidius Saxa, with numerous Forces, to keep open the Passage for them into Macedonia.

While these Tyrants were busied in Italy, the Republican Generals had made themselves Masters of all Asia on this Side the Euphrates, and, by excessive Cruelties and Oppression, exercised upon those who resuled them Succours of Men and Money, had amassed immense Treasures for the War. These Proceedings were by no Means consistent with those Ideas of Liberty, by which they professed themselves to be influenced, but were, by Cassius particularly, judged necessary for the Support of their Cause. Being thus provided, therefore, and having received Information of the Motions of the Enemy, they drew all their Forces over the Hellesport,

Hellespont, and marched to meet them. As they advanced, Antony also moved from Dyrrachium, and joined Saxa and Norbanus, having left OCTAVIAN behind, who was confined by Sickness. However, he came up some Days after, and both incamped in the Plains of Philippi, on the Verge of which, Brutus and Cassius had taken Post before them. The Situation of the Armies was fuch, that the latter could be supplied by Sea with all Necessaries. while the former had only the Country behind them for Subfistence, which was quickly exhausted. This made them eager for Action; and on the other Side disposed Cassius to protract the War: so that both Armies were in much the fame Condition in which those of Pompey and Cæsar had formerly been, Numbers only excepted, which were now nearly equal, and confifted of about one hundred thousand Horse and Foot on each Side. But the Republicans were much fuperior in Cavalry, and, being covered with the Spoils of the East, glittered with Gold and Silver. Had Cassius continued his Resolution of fitting still where he abounded with all Things, the Triumvirs must have marched back. again, or found themselves deserted through the Want of every Thing. But Brutus was weary of the War, and willing to bring it to a speedy Issue; besides that the Soldiery in general imputed this Inactivity

· in ... ;; [...

Inactivity to Fear or Want of Spirit in their Commanders, and began to leave them; so that Cassius himself was at Length forced into the Measure.

Brutus was in the Right Wing opposed to OCTAVIAN, as Cashus was to Antony in the Left. OCTAVIAN'S Wing was defeated by Brutus, and the Camp taken. On the other Side, the Forces of Cassius were routed by Antony, and his Camp taken. Thus far the Event was alike to both! But Cassus and Octavian, as yet ignorant of the true State of Affairs, looked upon their whole Party to be utterly undone. The former therefore, difcerning that the Enemy were possessed of his Camp, and feeing a large Body of Cavalry advancing towards the Hill where he had made a Stand, difpatched one of his Officers to learn who they were. When this Messenger came to them, they fur rounded him, enquiring with great Eagerness after Cassius (for they were the Soldiers of Brutus) who was all this while observing their Motions with great Anxiety. Convinced, from what he faw, that they were Enemies, and had made his Officer their Prisoner, and being determined not to fall into their. Hands, he retired with Pindarus, his Freedman, whom he prevailed upon to do the last friendly Office for him, by putting an End to his Sorrows and his Life.

When

When the several Circumstances of the Battle were known, the Commanders on both Sides, as if TRIVMVIRATE. by mutual Confent, quitted the Camp which they had taken, and retired to their own. But for this unhappy Mistake of Cassus, the Republicans would have had no Reason to complain: for the Loss of the Enemy doubled theirs, and they were every Day more and more distressed. Their Fleet from Italy, laden with Supplies of Men and Provisions, was almost totally destroyed. So that could Brutus have been content to rest on the defensive, his Business was already done for him. But the Defection of many, and the mutinous Disposition of all, defeated this falutary Purpose. In the Engagement which enfued, a complete Victory was gained by the Triumvirs, and Brutus, in a Fit of Despair, fell upon his own Sword. There are two Medals of him in Gold, one bearing the Head of the first Conful, with L. BRVTVS PRIM COS.; and his own for the Reverse, with M. BRVTVS IMP, and the Addition of COSTA LEG. who struck it: the other having his Head inclosed in a thick Wreath of Laurel, with BRVTVS IMP.; and for the Reverse, a Trophy with CASCA on one Side of it, and on the other LONGVS, meaning probably Servilius Casca, who gave the first Stab to the Dictator, and Mussidius Longus. His Troops in ge-Vol. I. \mathbf{B} \mathbf{b} neral,

Pl. V. S.

Pl. V. 9.

Second Trivmvirate. neral, who furvived the Slaughter, came over to the Conquerors. But those of Rank, who had borne Offices in the Commonwealth, or were of the Number of the Conspirators, or of the Proscribed, for the most Part either laid violent Hands upon themselves, or found Means to escape to Sextus Pompey in Sicily.

After this Victory, it was agreed that Antony should pass into Asia, and settle the Affairs of the Provinces there; while OCTAVIAN should return to Italy with the Veterans, and distribute amongst them the promised Rewards and Lands. Meantime Lucius Antonius, the Brother of the Triumvir, and P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, the second Time succeeded to the Fasces at Rome. The former took it into his Head to triumph without a Victory, on the Day that he entered into his Office. We have therefore two of his Denarii; one of his Confulship, having his own Head on one Side, with L. ANTONIVS COS.; and on the other, that of the Triumvir, with M. ANT. IM. AG. III. VIR. R. P. C. A. NERVA PRO Q. P.; i. e. MARCUS ANTONIUS IMPERATOR AUGUR TRIUMVIR REIPUBLICÆ CONSTITUENDÆ: AULUS NERVA PROQUÆSTOR PRÆ-TORIUS. This NERVA, who struck it, was the Proquestor of Antony, with Prætorian Power, and the Great Grandfather of the Emperor of the same Name.

Name. The other Denarius exhibits him crowned by a Victory, and drawn by Lions, and has on the Reverse the Head of PIETY, distinguished by a Stork, which was the common Symbol of it; a Bird which is faid to fustain its Parents in Weakness or Age. For this PIETAS is the very Name which the Conful affumed, not calling himself PIVS, but L. Antonius Pietas, from the very tender Regard which he pretended to have for his Brother, and which he made the Foundation of a new Civil War. Hence we have on one of the Triumvir's Reverses in Gold, a Piety with a Cornucopiæ in her Left Hand, and an Helm in the Right, with a Stork at her Feet, and underneath PIETAS COS; and on another, the same emblematical Lady, with two Storks perched upon her Cornucopiæ, and holding in her Hand the Figure of the Triumvir, with PIETI COS.

Second TRIVMVIRATE. Pl. V. 10.

Pl. V. 113

Pl. V. 121

For Octavian was no sooner recovered of a Relapse, which had seized him soon after the Victory of *Philippi*, but he returned to *Rome*, in order to give the Soldiers the Lands and Habitations assigned. In doing this, he entirely lost the Good-will of the Possessor, without retaining that of the military Men. The former complained, with Reason, that they were tyrannically driven from their Estates and Habitations; and the latter, that they were not grati-

1. / 19

fied according to their Merits and Expectations. The Consul also, and Fulvia, the Wife of the Triumvir, a Woman of high Spirit and masculine Courage, stormed loudly at his Proceedings; infisting, "that "themselves ought to have been the sole Distribu-"tors of the Rewards to Antony's Soldiers, whom he " had manifestly defrauded, though to them the "Victory had been folely owing." The Contention ran fo high, that OCTAVIAN divorced her Daughter, declaring upon Oath, that, for him, she was still a Virgin. After this no Measures were kept: all the discontented flocked to them. Fulvia seized on Praneste; appeared there with a Sword by her Side, gave the Word, and harangued the Troops in At length the Conful took Possession of Perusia with his Army, and was there besieged by OCTAVIAN, who with Difficulty compelled him to a Surrender, not without great Hazard to himself. This was called the Perusian War. The City, which had been unhappily made the Scene of it, was confumed with Fire. Four hundred Equestrians and Senators of that City were facrificed to the Manes of CESAR on the Ides of March, and the Heads of the Party dispersed themselves; some slying to MARC Antony, others to Sextus Pompey, in Sicily. Among the latter was Tiberius Claudius Nero, with his Wife Livia, who became afterwards the Wife of Octa-

OF IMPERIAL ROME.

who fucceeded Augustus on the Imperial Throne. But this Conclusion was brought about in the fucceeding Consulate of Cn. Domitius Calvinus, honoured the second Time with this Dignity, and C. Asinius Pollio. The Denarius of the former has his Head, without any Inscription but the Word OSCA, intimating whence the Silver came; and on the Reverse the Apex, or Pontifical Mitre, the Ax, the Sympulum, and the Aspersorium, with which it was customary to sprinkle those with pure Water who were present at the Sacrifices. So the Poet:

SECOND TRIVMVIRATE.

Pl. V. 13.

Idem ter socios purâ circumtulit undâ

Spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivæ,

Lustravitque viros.

ÆNEID, lib. vi. v. 229.

Dipt in the crystal Wave, a Branch he bore,
And his Companions lightly sprinkled o'er
Thrice with the dewy Drops, and cleans'd the Men.

The Legend is DOM. COS. ITERum IMP. That of the latter has, on one Side, the radiated Head of Apollo, with the Name POLLIO; on the other the Half-moon and Seven Stars, and underneath C. ASINI. CN. F.

Pl. V. 14.

OCTAVIAN had now Reason enough to expect a Breach with Antony, and had the Power of Sextus Pompey to contend with at the same Time. This last had

had possessed himself of Sicily before the Triumvirate commenced, had a very numerous Fleet, and a military Force on Shore largely sufficient for the Protection of himself and his Friends, of whom he had many. All the old Adherents of his Father followed his Fortunes; all who had been proscribed, and had the good Luck to escape, took Refuge with him. And himself had facilitated the Escape of Multitudes, by keeping light Vessels continually hovering upon the Coast to take them up. The Island of which he was Master, was the Granary of Rome, which he might shut up or open at his Plea-His Power was therefore extremely formidable, and, in more active Hands, might have proved an Overmatch for all Opposition. OCTAVIAN, that he might not have two Competitors at once to deal with, endeavoured a Reconciliation with him. To that End he fent over to him his Mother Mucia, and himself married Scribonia, the Sister of Libo, who was the Father-in-law of Sextus. But all this was to little Purpose, Pompey seeming more inclinable to treat with Antony. He therefore left his favourite Agrippa, who was now Prætor, to carry on Hostilities against him, and went into Gaul, in order to secure the large Armies in those Parts in his Interest; which he did effectually. In his Absence, Sextus ravaged the Coast of Italy, and reduced

reduced the City itself to great Distress, by with-holding the necessary Supplies of Corn.

SECOND TRIVMVIRATE

All the while Antony was taken up with Concerns of another Nature. After his parting with OCTAVIAN, he passed through Greece, and spent fome little Time at Athens, where, by his Generosity and obliging Deportment, he much endeared himself to the Greeks. When he came into Apa, all the Princes of the Country were eager to pay their Addresses to him. At Ephesus the People received him as the younger Bacchus, with the Ceremonies usually practised on the Festivals of that Deity. Their Flatteries, however pleasing to him, did not fave their Purses; for here he raised upon the Provinces no less than nine Years Taxes, to be paid peremptorily in the Compass of two. A most oppressive Burthen! as the whole Country had been so lately stript of every Thing that was valuable by Brutus and Cassius. Yet these were exacted with fo much Rigour, that the People in the Neighbourhood of the Euphrates put themselves under the Protection of the Parthians. On his Arrival at Tarsus, in Cilicia, he summoned the Queen of Egypt before him, whose Governor in Cyprus had assisted the Republican Commanders. She brought with her a Profusion of Wealth, and failed not to exert all her Charms, both natural and acquired; Second Trivmvirate. and no Lady of the Time had more of both; infomuch that, from being her Judge, he became her Vassal, and from that Moment surrendered all his Faculties to the Dominion of Cleopatra. Leaving therefore Plancus and Saxa as his Lieutenants in Asia and Syria, he followed her into Egypt, and wasted the Winter with her in the most dishonourable Riot and Debauchery.

Meantime the Parthians passed the Euphrates, under the Command of Pacorus, their King's Son, and Labienus, the Son of him who had been CESAR'S Lieutenant in Gaul, and was afterwards slain at Munda. He had been sent into Parthia by the Republican Generals, before the Battle of Philippi, to ask the Assistance of that Monarch; and on the Defeat of the Party, had continued there, where he thought himself safest. But now understanding that Antony was gone into Egypt, and was lost in Indolence and Luxury, and that the Hands of Octavian were full, he perfuaded Orodes, the Parthian King, to take Advantage of these favourable Incidents, and invade the Provinces. They overran Phænicia; defeated and flew Saxa, the Lieutenant of Antony; made themselves Masters of Apamea and Antioch, subduing all Syria, Tyre excepted. Marching thence into Palestine, they deposed Hyrcanus, and set up his Brother Aristobulus

Second Trivmyirate.

in his Room. They possessed themselves of Cilicia, and all the Cities of the proper Asia (for Plancus fled to the Islands) except Stratonicea, and most of them without a Siege. Melassa was deserted and destroyed, and Alabanda taken by Storm. Labienus, having thus sacked the Country, and pillaged the Temples, called himself (or, as Appian will have it, the King's Officers called him) Parthicus and Imperator, by an Inversion of the Roman Custom, taking his Title, not from the People whom he conquered, but whom he commanded. One of his Coins of this Sort is still to be found in the Cabinets of the Curious, with his Head, and the following Inscription, Q. LABIENVS PARTHICVS IMP. The Reverse, a Steed harnessed.

Pl. V. 15.

Such was the Situation of Antony, when the News of the Parthian Successes in Asia, and of the Miscarriages of his Wise and Brother in Italy, reached him, and roused him once more to Action. His first Design was to drive back the Parthians. But when he arrived at Tyre, finding them possessed of the whole Country, and being pressed with many Entreaties from his Wise, he sailed on for Italy, with a Fleet of two hundred Ships. In his Voyage, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus joined him with his Squadron: which Event is perpetuated in a Coin, bearing the Head of Antony on one Side, with Vol. I.

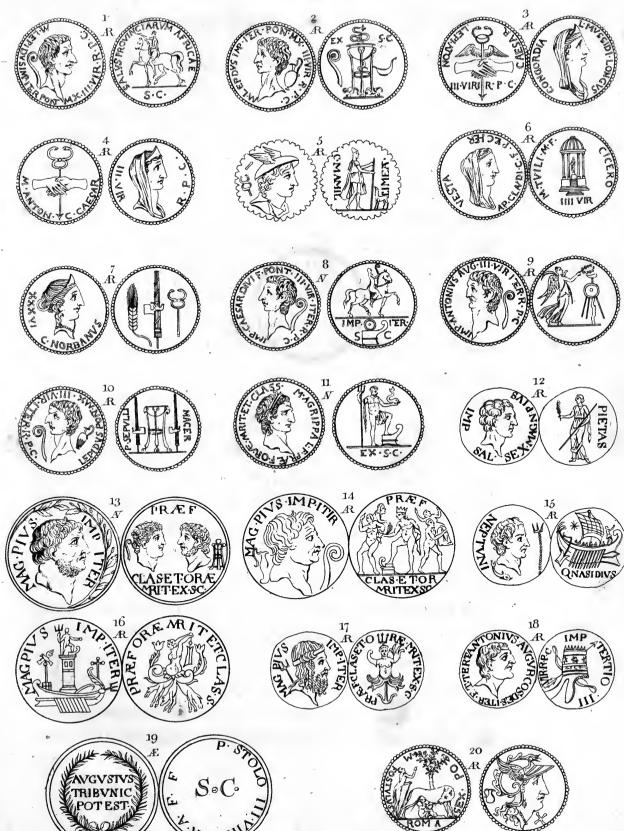
Pl. V. 16.

Pl. V. 17.

ANT. IMP. III. VIR. R. P. C.; and on the Reverse the Beak of a Ship, with CN. DOMIT. AHENO-BARBVS IMP. Another Denarius gives his own Head on one Side, and on the other a Trophy, raised on the Beak of a Ship, the Inscription being CN. DOMITIVS AHENOBARbus IMP. But there is a fine Medal of Gold of him, with the same Inscription, having the Temple of Neptune for the Reverse, and over it NEPTuni.

When he came upon the Coast of Italy, he took Sipus, and fummoned Brundusium, where OCTAVIAN. had a large Garrison. The Gates therefore being fhut against him, he laid Siege to the Place, and prevailed on Sextus Pompey to make a Diversion in his Favour. OCTAVIAN now returning from Gaul, drew together his Forces, and dispatched SERVILIUS, RULLUS for the Defence of Brundusum, and AGRIPPA. for the Recovery of Sipus. The latter succeeded; but the former was surprized by Antony, and lost many of his Men. Thus a new War commenced between two of the Triumvirs, which however was foon terminated by the Death of Fulvia. For on her Decease they presently came to a Composition, and a new Partition of Empire. To Octavian's Share fell Sardinia and Dalmatia, the two Spains, and all Gaul: to Antony, all the Countries on the other Side of the Ionian Sea : and to LEPIDUS

. to the





the two Provinces of Africa. This Partition is re-

corded in the following Coins, which bear the Heads of the feveral Triumvirs with the usual Titles: only this is the first Time that I have obferved the PONT. for Pontifex, on those of OCTAVIAN. His Reverse represents a Globe upon a Tripod, round which stand the Triumvirs, one of them holding the Litius. Beneath, in a recumbent Pofture, is the female Figure of PEACE, with a Cornucopiæ in the Right Hand, and the Caduceus in the Left: the Legend SALVS GENERIS HVMANI. The Reverse of Antony's has the Type of Aha standing on a Pedestal, with the Hasta pura in her Left Hand, and in her Right a Vase; a Serpent rifes on its Folds on each Side as high as the Shoulders of the Figure. The Reverse of LEPIDUS has the Triumvir on Horseback holding out an Olive-branch. The Legend is SALVS PROVIN-

CIARVM AFRICAE, and underneath S. C. Ano-

ther of this Triumvir has a very curious Reverse,

representing a Tripod, from the Top of which a Serpent, the Symbol of Health and Safety, rifes in Spires, while at the Bottom of it the Chicken are pecking up the Corn as it rebounds, which was the Omen of Success in their Divinations. This was

SECOND TRIVMVIRATE.

Pl. V. 18.

Pl. VI. 1.

Pl. VI. 2.

It was now agreed between OCTAVIAN and C c 2 ANTONY,

called the Tripudium.

ANTONY, that they should carry on the War against Sextus Pompey; though Antony had bound himfelf by Oath to join Sextus against OCTAVIAN, and that very Engagement had induced the latter to publish an Edict of Indemnity for all who had opposed him in the Perusian War, for some of the Conspirators themselves, and among others Domitius. Abenobarbus, for the Proscribed, and for all who had fought under Cassius, and Brutus. They sealed their Agreement with mutual Entertainments, and the Solemnity of a Marriage between Antony and Octavia, who was lately become a Widow, and was the Sister of OCTAVIAN. They entered Rome together with the leffer Triumph or Ovation, on Account of their Reconciliation. On this Occasion, Goltzius presents us with two Denarii, the first having two joined Hands holding a Caduceus, with: the Infcription CAESAR LEPI ATON III VIRI R. P. C. On the Reverse is the Head of CON-CORDIA, with the Legend L. MVSSIDI. LONGVS, the Name of the Quartumvir Monetalis. The Figures on each Side of the other are the same, but it contains only, the Names, of M. ANTON. and C. CAESAR. 10:11 1

Pl. VI. 4.

Pl. VI. 3.

Meanwhile Menas, the Admiral of Pompey, made: Descents upon the Coast of Hetruria, and conquered afterwards the Island of Sardinia. This,

and:

and the War with Pompey, to which the People Were generally averse, and the Famine which enfued from the Detention of the Corn, made the Citizens tumultuous and clamorous for Peace, to such a Degree, that the Triumvirs found themselves obliged to treat with Pompey. The Year now drawing to an End, the present Consuls abdicated, and L. Cornelius Balbus, a wealthy Spaniard, and the samiliar Friend of the late Dictator, and P. Canidius Crassus, were substituted in their Place for the sew remaining Days.

In the Beginning of the following Year, when L. Marcius Censorinus and C. Calvisius Sabinus were Confuls, all the Acts of the Triumvirs were ratified by the Senate and People. This Year Pollio triumphed for his Success against the Parthini in Illyria; as did Censorinus, on the Day that he entered into his Office, for his in Macedonia. At this Time I find C. Mamilius Limetanus to have been of the Number of the Triumviri Monetales, the other two being P. Crepusus and L. Censorinus abovementioned. This Family was originally of Tufculum, and reported to have fprung from Mamilia, the Daughter of Telegonus, who was the Son of Ulysses by Circe, and the Founder of that City. Their Descent is therefore recorded on his Denarius, which bears upon the Face of it the God Mercury,

Pl. VI. 5. Coll. Pemb. 137. f. 16.

THE MEDALLIC HISTORY

Second . TRIVMVIRATE.

Mercury, with his Attributes; and for the Reverse, the Figure of Ulysses, with a Staff in his Hand, and a Cap on his Head, as first represented (according to Pliny) by Nicocomachus; the Cap being, amongst the Greeks, a Mark of high Nobility. For in Ovid this Hero deduces his Pedigree from Jupiter by the Father's Side, and from Mercury by the Mother's:

Nam mibi Laertes pater est, Arcesius illi,
Jupiter buic—

Est quoque per matrem Cyllenius addita nobis

Altera nobilitas.—

The great Laertes as my Sire I name, Arcefius' Son, from Jove Arcefius came; And by the Mother my Descent I claim From Mercury.

And to render his Coin the more entertaining, he has made Choice of that affecting Circumstance in the History of his Ancestor, when, after an Absence of twenty Years, he was recognized by his faithful Dog Argus, as Homer relates the Story:

And now his City strikes the Monarch's Eyes,
Alas! how chang'd! a Man of Miseries;
Propt on a Staff, a Beggar old and bare,
In Rags dishonest fluttering with the Air!—
Thus near the Gates, conferring as they drew,
Argus, the Dog, his ancient Master knew;
He, not unconscious of the Voice and Tread,
Lists to the Sound his Ear, and rears his Head.—
He knew his Lord; he knew, and strove to meet,
In vain he strove to crawl and kis his Feet;

Yet (all he could) his Tail, his Ears, his Eyes,
Salute his Master, and confess his Joys.—
The Dog, whom Fate had granted to behold
His Lord, when twenty tedious Years had roll'd,
Takes a last Look, and, having seen him, dies;
So clos'd for ever faithful Argus' Eyes!
Pope.

Second Triumvirate.

In the Area of the Reverse we read, C. MAMIL. LIMEA. This Coin the Emperor Trajan judged so curious, that we meet with it as restored by himfelf, with IMP. CAES. TRAJAN. AVG. GER. DAC. PP. RESTituit.

The Triumvirs now appointed Confuls, and other Magistrates, for several Years to come, on Account of Antony's Parthian Expedition. A personal Treaty was agreed upon with Sextus Pompey, in Consequence of which the three Chiefs had a Conference on the Sea-Shore at Mount Misenus, and at last concluded on the following Conditions: That those who had fled to Sicily should have their Liberty and Effects restored; to the Exiles and Proscribed, was ensured an honourable Return to their Country, with the fourth Part of their conficated. Estates; that Sextus himself should have the Dominion of Sicily, Sardinia, and Achaia or Peloponnesus for five Years, should prevent all maritime Depredations, supply the City with Corn, and be admitted into the College of Augurs.

At this Time P. Ventidius Bassus, Proconsul, and Lieutenant

Pl. VI. 6.

Pl. VI. 7.

Lieutenant of Antony, recovered Palestine, defeated Labienus, and drove the Parthians from Syria, Cilicia, and Mount Taurus: for which Success a Supplication was decreed to Antony. Nor was P. Canidius Crassus, his other Lieutenant, less successful in Armenia, and the adjoining Countries.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher and C. Norbanus Flaccus fucceeded to the Consulate in the Year of the City DCCXV. M. Tullius Cicero, the Son of the Orator, who was one of the Quartumviri Monetales, struck the Denarius of the former with the Head of

struck the Denarius of the former with the Head of Vesta, distinguished by her Name, and having the Inscription AP. CLAVDI. C. F. PVCHER. The Reverse shews the Temple and Image of the same Goddess, with the same Legend M. TVLLI. M. F.

CICERO IIII VIR. That of the other Consul has the Head of Concord, with C. NORBANVS: and on the Reverse the Fasces, expressive of his Dignity; with the Caduceus, and an Ear of Corn, to signify the Peace and Plenty ensuing from the late Treaty. The Consuls had now for the first Time two Questors each: for Offices began to be strangely multiplied, the Triumvirs having such Numbers to gratify; insomuch that the present Year beheld no fewer than sixty-seven Prætors. And a very Youth was made Questor but the Day after he had taken up the manly Robe. The Moors at this Time passing

passing the Streights, made Incursions into Spain. And the War broke out afresh between OCTAVIAN and Pompey, occasioned by the Desertion of Menas. the Freedman of the latter; who delivered up Sardinia, with the Fleet and Troops which he commanded, to Octavian. Several naval Engagements passed between them, with various Success. the Elements were unfavourable to OCTAVIAN, who had the Misfortune to have almost his whole Fleet wrecked in a Storm. But the Arms of Antony were successful in the East, under his Lieutenant Ventidius, who gained a fecond and a third Victory over the Parthians, whose Prince Pacorus lost his Life in one of the Actions. For which prosperous Events Ventidius was allowed a Triumph. His other Lieutenant, Sofius, who commanded in Syria and Cilicia, subdued the Aradians by Famine, made himself Master of Jerusalem, and took Antigonus Prisoner, whom he afterwards beheaded, and advanced Herod, the Ascalonite, to the Government of Judea. And thus, by the Failure of the Royal Line, fays Josephus, the Prophecy of Daniel was fulfilled.

The Day before the Calends of January, the Power of the Triumvirate should have ceased, for the five Years then expired. But they who composed it were in no such Haste to part with their Vol. I. D d Authority.

Authority. Before the Time came, they publicly declared themselves Triumvirs for the Term of five Years longer, without confulting either the Senate or the People. Coins, with their feyeral Heads, were struck, bearing the Title of ITERum R. P. C. That of OCTAVIAN is of Gold. On the Reverse is

Pl. VI. 8.

his Equestrian Statue, holding the augural Staff. Underneath is a Crown of Laurel on the Beak of a

Pl. VI. 9.

Ship, with IMP. ITER. S. C. The Reverse of Antony bears a Victory crowning a Trophy. That of LEPIDUS is marked with a Tripod, and the Fasces on each Side of it, with the Name of the Quar-

Pl. VI. 10.

tumvir Monetalis P. SEPVLLIus MACER.

M. Vipsanius Agrippa, and L. Caninius Gallus. fucceeded to the Fasces. The last of these I find upon some ancient Coins of Augustus to have been one of the Triumviri Monetales, when the Number of those Officers was reduced. The former was Commander of the Sea-coast, and Admiral of the Fleet, as appears from his Medal of Gold before us, on which he wears a Rostrate Crown, with the following Inscription: Marcus AGRIPPA, L.

Pl. VI. 11.

F. PRÆFeEtus ORÆ MARITimæ ET CLASSis. On the Reverse stands Neptune with his left Foot resting upon the Beak of a Ship, having the Trident in his right Hand, and a Dolphin upon the left: underneath EX. S. C. I observe, that the Name of . 3 . 3171

Vipsanius.

Vipsanius is not marked upon any of his Coins. Second Nor did the Owner himself like it, as it bespoke him of mean Place and obscure Original. But what he wanted in Family was amply compensated. by the Greatness of his own Atchievements, and the supreme Dignity to which they raised him. After some Time Caninius abdicated; but who was fubstituted to that Dignity in his Room, both Hiftorians and the Capitoline Fragments are filent. But we suppose with Pighius, that T. Statilius Taurus must have been the Man, because it appears that he was a fecond Time Conful in the Year of the City 727, and there is no Room for him in any. Year before, except the present. About this Time OCTAVIAN married Livia Drufilla, the Wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero, though the was with Child by her Husband, and was brought to bed three Months afterwards. Her Husband, not daring to withstand the Proposal, played the Courtier, and affected great Complacency on this Occasion, giving her Hand in Person to the Triumvir, who took high Satisfaction in the Present. She was one of the most amiable Ladies of her Time, and of a Prudence and Discretion well suited to the high Station to which her Charms had raifed her. Great naval Preparations were now made for bringing the War to a Conclusion with Sextus Pompey, which

were committed to the Care of Agrippa. Vast Numbers he employed in building Ships in every Port of Italy, and converted the Lucrine and Avernian Lakes into a most admirable Harbour. Antony. then at Athens, was invited to take his Share in the War, and LEPIDUS entreated to get ready his Forces in Africa for the same Purpose. The former came to Brundusium, but returned, unaccountably, without feeing Octavian, of whose Power he grew jealous; and the latter wasted the Year in Preparations. However an Interview and Reconciliation was afterwards brought about between Octavian and An-TONY by the Mediation of Octavia. He received of OCTAVIAN two Legions towards his Parthian Expedition, and left behind him a confiderable Part of his Fleet in Exchange. Still further to cement this Amity, a Contract of Marriage was concluded between Antyllus, the Son of Antony, and Julia, the Daughter of Octavian. Thus they parted, and Antony set fail for Syria, leaving his Wife and Children to the Protection of OCTAVIAN, who had now a mighty Army, and a growing Fleet, which threatened to bear down all Opposition. But the Winds and Waves were more bitter Enemies to him than Pompey, by which he lost a Multitude of Ships; while the Sicilians, by the Convenience of their Ports, and the Dexterity of their Mariners, fuffered

fuffered but little. Pompey was so extravagantly elated herewith, that he paid solemn Sacrifices to the supposed Deity of the Sea for his Assistance, and boasted himself the Son of Neptune. His Coins record this Vanity. Hitherto they had been such as might fuit him modestly enough, bearing his own Effigies on one Side, with the Title SEXtus MAGNus PIVS IMP. with SALus underneath, alluding to the Safety and Protection which the Profcribed, and his Father's Adherents, found in him. The Name of Pius he assumed from the Veneration which he bore for the Cause and Memory of his Father. Accordingly a PIETY is figured on the Reverse, with the Hasta pura in one Hand, and a Branch of Laurel in the other. Or his own Head, inclosed in a Wreath or Branch of Laurel, as we have it in Gold, with MAG. PIVS IMP. ITERum: and for the Reverse, his own and his Father's facing each other, with the Lituus and Tripod, and his Title PRAEFectus CLASsis ET OR Æ MRITimæ EX. S. C. But now we find them all inflated with his new Attachment. One has his Head with the Vase or Guttus, and the Lituus or augural Staff, to represent his Reception into the pontifical and augural Colleges, with MAG. PIVS IMP. ITER. On the Reverse we see Neptune holding a Branch of Laurel, and resting his right Foot on the Beak of a Ship.

Second Trivmvirate.

Pl. VI. 12,

Pl. VI. 13.

Pl. VI. 14.

THE MEDALLIC HISTORY

SECOND TRIVMVIRATE.

.Pl. VI. 15.

Pl. VI. 16.

On each Side are Amphinomus and Anabias, two Sicilians who are said to have carried their Parents. through the Midst of the Flames in a Conflagration of Mount Ætna: and these formed the Symbol of Piety, with the Cataneans especially. The Legend gives him the Title conferred upon him by the Senate, PRAFectus CLASsis ET ORA MITima EX S. C. A fecond has his Head with a Dolphin and Trident, and the Infcription NEPTVNI, as the Son of Neptune and Salacia. The Reverse a Ship, and underneath Q. NASIDIVS, the Name of one of his Admirals. A third has the Statue of Neptune, raised upon a Ship, with Emblems expressing the Dominion of the Sea, and MAG. PIVS IMP. ITER. The Reverse of this, to denote the Island of Sicily, has the Image of Scylla, as described by Virgil:

Candida succinetam latrantibus inguina monstris
Dulichias vexasse rates, et gurgite in alto
Ab! timidos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis.

With barking Monsters to her Waist annex'd, The Ships of fam'd *Ulysses* to have vex'd, And torn (alas!) with her Sea-Dogs accurs'd, The trembling Sailors in the Whirl immers'd.

Pl. VI. 17. A fourth bears the Head of Neptune, with the same Inscription, and has on its Reverse a Trophy fixed upon

upon an Anchor, with the Office, conferred by the SECOND Senate, expressed in the Legend. I am aware that TRIVMVIRATE. the Coins bearing this Legend PRF. CLAS. ET OR Æ MIT. are generally ascribed to Pompey the Father. And the Author confesses himself to have been formerly misled, in his Review of ROMAN History, by the Commentators on Velleius, in this Point, but is now convinced that Patin, in his Familiæ Romanæ, p. 219, has rightly attributed them to Sextus. The Father, when that Title was conferred upon him, acted with Proconfular Authority, and is called PRO COS. accordingly, in those Coins which were struck on the Occasion by his Lieutenants Piso and Varro, as we have already observed. Further, the Name of PIVS is never given to the Father, nor the Title of ITERum IMPérator. But to return. "Pompey," fays Appian, "did not even lay hold of the Opportunity of fo "many Shipwrecks: he only busied himself with "Sacrifices to Neptune and Salacia, whose Son he " fuffered himself to be called, persuading himself "that his Adversaries could not have been thus "twice distressed with Tempests, in the Summer "Seafon, without the particular Favour of the "God. They say that he was so inflated on these "Accounts, as to change the scarlet Robe, which was usually worn by Generals, for one of a cæru-66. lean 3.

Second Triumvirate.

- " lean or sea-green Colour, as being adopted by " Neptune." Dio Cassius likewise observes, that
- " he was so elated in Spirit, that he verily believed
- "himself the Son of Neptune, and put on the cærulean Robe." When Horace therefore says,

Epode 9,

Ut nuper actus cum freto Neptunius Dux fugit ustis Navibus.

As late when the Neptunian Youth, who fpurn'd
A mortal Birth, beheld his Navy burn'd,
And fled affrighted through his Father's Waves. Francis.

he does not, by the Dux Neptunius, mean simply the Maritime Commander, but throws out a most bitter Sarcasm upon his present Vanity and subsequent Defeat. The Behaviour of these great Men, compared together, was truly ridiculous. For as Pompey was quite wild with the supposed Partiality of Neptune in his Favour, OCTAVIAN, on the other Side, was quite angry with him, declaring that he would conquer in Spite of Neptune; and at the next. Circensian Games, when the Statues of the Gods were brought out, as usual, with all imaginable Honour, would not suffer that of Neptune to partake of it, but ordered him contemptuously to be carried off. At this time Menas, not thinking himfelf fufficiently rewarded, went over again to his old Master Pompey, whom he left once more in the

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Phraates

following Year, returning to OCTAVIAN with seven Ships only. An extraordinary Prodigy is now faid TRIVMVIRATE. to have happened. An Eagle on the Wing let fall a white Hen into the Lap of LIVIA, with a Branch of Laurel, having ripe Berries, in its Mouth. This was judged to be an Omen of much Importance. The Hen she carefully kept, and planted the Branch, which struck Root, and grew so prosperoully, as to furnish Laurel for the Conquerors in their Triumphs for a long Time after.

But in that Year, which was the Year of the City DCCXVII, when L. Gellius Poplicola, and M. Cocceius Nerva, were advanced to the Consulate, the Sicilian War was brought to a Conclusion. These Consuls abdicated in the Course of the Year, and their Substitutes were L. Munatius Plancus the fecond Time, and P. Sulpicius Quirinus. At Rome the Ædileship was intermitted, and the Prætors and Tribunes exhibited in their Stead the usual Shews and Entertainments to the People; all Persons, qualifted for the Office, fearing the Expence of it. Mecanas, though only of Equestrian Rank, was now at the Height of Power, governing all Things as the Deputy of Octavian, not only at Rome, but throughout all Italy. M. ANTONY, the Triumvir, with eighteen Legions, and fixteen thousand Horse, entered Armenia, and invaded Parthia from thence. Vol. I.

Ee

Phraates met him at the Head of his Army, and cut in Pieces two of his Legions, together with Stationus; his Lieutenant. In this Expedition he was very near being destroyed, with all his Forces, of which helactually lost not less than a fourth Part. The rest were saved by a Deserter, who yet was a Roman, who had been taken Prisoner by the Enemy in the Defeat of Crassus By his Advice they retreated by a different [Route, through Woods] and over Mountains, where the Parthian Cavalry were little serviceable. About a third Part of the Slaves and Attendants upon the Camp were also loft, with almost all the Baggage and Engines of War. A good Part of this Damage might have been prevented, if he had thought fit to winter in Armenia. But his Eagernes to return to the Embraces of Cleopatra, made deaf his Ears to the Wildom of this falutary Counfel. And, having with much Difficulty escaped the Danger, the had the Confidence to call himself victorious; and veven struck some Medals of Gold and Silver, with his own Head, and the Inscription ANTONIVS AVGVR COS. DES. ITER. F. T. TERT.; having on the Reverse the Bow, and Arrow, and the Parthian Tiara, with IHAVIR R. P. G. CIMP. TERTIO. In thoughout

Pl. VI. 18.

All this while, many and loud were the Complaints at Rome; the usual Supplies of Corn from 23.77

Sicily

Sicily being stopped, and the Famine beginning to make its Appearance. But Octavian, having now a mighty Army and a numerous Fleet, refused to listen to their Murmurs. The Seamen had been exercifed all the Winter, and rendered very expert. In the Beginning of the Spring they fet fail, when Agrippa, by the Defeat of Demochares, one of the Freedmen and Admirals of Pompey, cleared the Streights of Messana. OCTAVIAN seized the Opportunity, and landed a large Body of his Forces at Taurominium, but was attacked by Pompey on his Return, and narrowly escaped to the Continent. Here he grew extremely uneafy for the Forces that he had landed in the Island, and dispatched Orders to Agrippa to relieve them at all Events. They were in want of every Thing; and when their Leaders Cornificius, judged it necessary to attempt a Retreat to Myla, where AGRIPPA had landed some Troops. they were attacked on all Sides by the Pompeians, and brought into great Difficulties; from which however, they were at last freed by the March of those Troops to their Assistance. Presently after. OCTAVIAN himself landed in the Island, and Sextus pitched his Camp over against him at Artemisium. Some light Skirmishes ensued between the Horse on both Sides, but they came not to a general Action. In the mean Time Tifienus Gallus joined Pompey from

Second Trivmvirate.

Lilybeum, where he had endeavoured in vain to oppose the landing of LEPIDUS; and LEPIDUS himfelf marched towards Octavian. The former of these Triumvirs began to be too sensible of his own Importance on this Occasion: he thought that Oc-TAVIAN used him ill, and more like his Lieutenant than his Equal or Partner in Empire. He therefore entered into a fecret Correspondence with Pompey; which OCTAVIAN suspecting, resolved to fight as soon as possible. He drew out his Army for several Days: together, as Agrippa did his Fleet in Line of Battle. At length Pompey, dreading the Imputation of Cowardice, and fearing to be deferted on that Account, determined to engage by Sea; on which Element he thought himself strongest. The Action was very bloody, and the Victory obstinately disputed, in the Sight of both Armies drawn up on the Shore. But at length the Fortune of Agrippa prevailed: the mighty Fleet of Pompey was destroyed, seventeen Ships only excepted, which took Shelter in the Port of Messana. His Land Army, as if defeated with them, retired under the Walls of the same City. Himself, taking on Board his Treasures, his Daughter, and a few of his Friends, fled by Night with the poor Remains of his Fleet towards the Coast of Asia, leaving the Island to the Mercy of the Conqueroria The Pompeian Cavalry, with Part of the Foot, submitted

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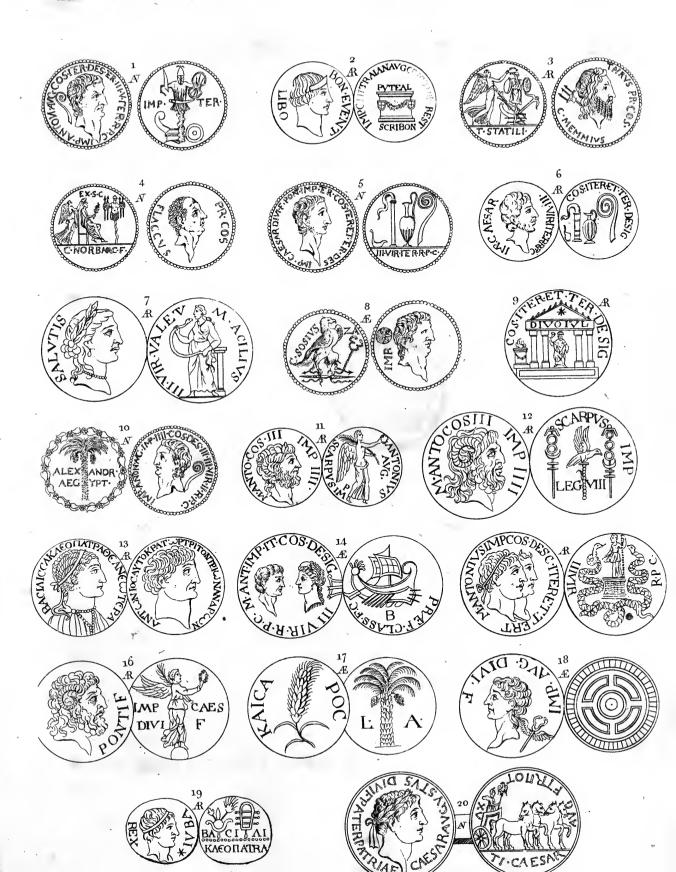
to Octavian. Lepidus marched directly to Messana, to whom more than eight Legions there furren- TRIVMVIRATE. dered, and were incorporated with his Troops. The Place he gave up to be plundered by his Soldiers, notwithstanding the Remonstrances of AGRIPPA. He next took Possession of a strong Eminence, where he fortified his Camp, and answered the Complaints of OCTAVIAN with Recriminations and haughty Demands, which favoured of Hostility. The latter went to his Camp with an ordinary Guard, but was infulted and wounded; notwithstanding which he had the Address to gain over many of them, and at last the whole Army. The deserted Triumvir sunk at once to abject Meannels, and, in a mourning Habit, threw himself at the Feet of his Rival, and begged his Life. OCTAVIAN despised him too much to fear him. He therefore suffered him to live; and he spent the rest of his Days peaceably at Circeii, without Honour or Authority, unnoticed and unregarded. The whole Island of Sicily submitted; Plenty was restored to Rome; and Octavian's Return thither was welcomed with incredible Joy and Magnificence. The Senate decreed him a Triumph; but he shewed his Moderation by accepting of ana Ovation only.

This naval Victory was commemorated by some ANTONY AND Denarii, bearing a Ship manned, and carried with

ANTONY AND OCTAVIAN.

Sail and Oars, the Mark of Felicity, with the Infeription IMP. CAESAR.; on the Reverse is a Victory, holding an Helm in her Left Hand, and placing a Wreath of Laurel on a Branch of Palm; the Legend DIVI. F. Agrippa was, on this Occasion, presented with a Crown of Gold; in the Flower Work of which the Beaks of Ships were represented, as in the Medal which we have given of him already. This was an Honour never conferred on any Person before or after him. A Statue of Gold was erected before the Rostra to Octavian, by a public Decree, with an Inscription, testifying that he had established Peace by Sea and Land; and his Person was rendered facred, by being invested with the Tri-BUNITIAL Power for ever. This Honour is perpetuated in the following Coin; by the Reverse of which it appears, that the Directors of the Coinage were now reduced to their original Number. It is inclosed in a Wreath of Laurel; the Privilege of being always crowned with it being conferred upon him at the same Time. However, the Reader will obferve that the Coin, though recording the high Dignity and Privilege now conferred, was not struck till some Years after, when the Name of Octavian was fwallowed up and loft in the folemn Title of Augustus. Statilius Taurus had been dispatched into Africa, to secure the two Provinces there, which

Pl. VI. 19.





had been under the Government of Lepidus; in Antony and which he met with little Difficulty.

The next Year Sextus Pompey, who had collected a Body of Forces in Afia, made himself Master of some Cities; but was soon defeated by Antony's Lieutenants, and put to Death. This Event gave great Satisfaction to OCTAVIAN, who, on Account thereof, exhibited the Equestrian Games, and raised Statues in the Temple of Concord, to the Honour of This was in the Year of the City DCCXVIII, when L. Cornificius and Sextus Pompeius Fostulus were Consuls. Of the former, I find no Medallic Memorial; but the Denarius of the latter has on the adverse Face the galeated Head of Rome, and the facerdotal Guttus: on the Reverse the traditional History of his supposed Ancestor, discovering the Wolf giving Suck to Romulus and Remus, under the Ficus Ruminalis; the Legend SEX. POM. FOSTVLVS; underneath ROMA.

Pl. VI. 20.

In the Year ensuing, Antony, though absent, had the Title of Conful; which he kept for a Day only. His Medal, on this Occasion, has the Lituus behind his Head, which is furrounded with his Titles, IMP. ANTON. AVG. COS. I'ER. DES. 'ER. III. V. IER. R. P. C.: the Reverse bears a Trophy with a Patera, and the Beak of a Ship at the Foot of it; in the Area IMP. TER. His Colleague in the Office 14 32 1 3

Pl. VII. 1.

Antony and Octavian.

was L. Scribonius Libo, whose Denarius on one Side has bis Puteal, as it is called. But what that was, Authors are not agreed. The Word properly fignifies the Cover of a Well. But to give the Reader a tolerable Notion of this Place, which was of most eminent Note in ancient Rome, we must lay before him what the feveral Authors or Commentators have laid down relating to it. Torrentius upon Horace observes, that according to P. Victor, it was in the eighth Region of the City, and that Dionysius, in his third Book of Roman Antiquities, where speaking of the Statue of Attius Navius, erected in the Forum, and in Front of the Senate-House, not far from the Ficus Ruminalis, fays, that nearly in the same Place the Razor and Whetstone were buried, by which Attius obtained Credit to his Divination. So fays Cicero, "We have received from our Ancestors, that "this same Whetstone and Razor were buried in "the Comitium, and a Well-cover laid over them." The ancient Coins which I preserve, says he, reprefent it as an Altar crowned, and bearing the Name of Scribonius Libo, who either builded or restored it, or perhaps founded the Court of Justice adjoining to it. Pliny the Elder speaks of a Fig-tree growing at Rome; in the Forum and Comitium, which was held in much Veneration; being facred on Account of the Lightning there buried, but much more as the Memorial 5 1."

ANTONY AND OCTAVIAN.

Memorial of her who was the Nurse of our Founder Romulus and Remus: because under it the Wolf was discovered by Faustulus, affording her (Rumen) Udder to the Children. It was therefore called the Ficus Ruminalis. From the above-cited Passage of Pliny, Salmasus will have it, that there were two respectable Fig-trees, one in the Forum (the Ficus Ruminalis) and another in the Comitium (the Ficus Navia); but whether planted by Attius Navius the Augur, or sprung from a Sucker of the other, he leaves us in the Dark. But we apprehend that Pliny intended only one Tree (the Ficus Ruminalis) which grew in the Forum and Comitium, as he fays; which it might very well do, the Comitium, or Place of Voting, being in the Middle of the Forum. He adds, that every Place struck with Lightning was deemed religious; and became facred by the raifing of an Altar, and the Oblation of Sacrifice. This Well, then, having been struck by Lightning, and proper Expiations made, the purified Place, over which a Building was raised, was called the PUTEAL; and Dionyhus of Halicarnassus is express, that an Altar was erected there. This then is the PUTEAL delineated on the Coins of Scribonius Libo; which bear on the other Side the Bust of an imaginary Deity, called GOOD or HAPPY EVENT. This before us was restored by the Emperor TRAJAN.

Pl. VII. 2.

Vol. I.

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I find

Antony and Octavian.

I find three Triumphs this Year, recorded on the Capitoline Marbles, which the Historians have taken little or no Notice of. The first is that of T. Statilius Taurus, the Day before the Kalends of July. Though he had taken peaceable Possession of Africa after the Degradation of LEPIDUS, some Disturbances foon after took Place, which gave Occasion for those Successes which were now crowned with Triumph. His Denarius, on this Account, reprefents a Trophy raifed upon Naval Spoils, and crowned by a Victory; underneath is T. SIA-TILL: and on the other Side the Head of NEPTUNE with his Trident, and TARVS PR. COS. with the Name of C. MEMMIVS, who struck the Coin.

The next was that of C. Sosius, whose Victories in Asia, as the Lieutenant of Antony, entitled him to this Honour, on the third of the Nones of September.

The last was that of Norbanus Flaccus, for his Successes in Spain, a Province which always yielded Matter for Triumphs. It was exhibited on the fourth of the Ides of October. His Medal is of Gold, and bears his own Head, with the Title FLACCVS PR. COS. In the Reverse he sits with a Branch of Laurel in his right Hand, a VICTORY

Pl. VII. 3.

Pl. VII. 4.

crowns him behind, and a Trophy stands before ANTONY AND him; underneath, C. NORBAN. C. F.

OCTAVIAN.

This Winter OCTAVIAN was making War in Dalmatia, whence he returned to Rome, to take Possession of the Consulate a second Time: which he did for a few Hours only, and then hastened to the Army again. The Medal of Gold, commemorating this Event, bears his Head, with the Inscription IMPerator CAESAR DIVI Filius PONTifex. Pl. VII. 5. IMPerator ERtio COSul IERum ET ERtio DESignatus. On the Reverse are the Vase or Guttus, the Lituus, the Adspersorium, and the Sympulum; and underneath III VIR. I ERum Rei Publicæ Constituendæ. For it is observed, that he and Antony still arbitrarily retained the Title and Authority of the Triumvirate, though one of the three had been stript of his Power, and the second Quinquennial Term had expired. His Denarius also has IMP CAESAR III VIR ITER R. P. C. with the same Reverse, and COS. ITER. ET TER DESIG.

Pl. VII. 6,

Bocchus, King of Mauritania, being now dead, his Dominions became a Roman Province. Dalmatians submitted, gave Hostages, and delivered up the Roman Enfigns which they had formerly taken. For this a Triumph was decreed to Octa-VIAN, which he thought proper to defer. Mean-

time

Antony and Octavian.

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time Antony marched to the Araxes, as intending against the Persian. Instead of which, he only amused himself with a Treaty with the King of the Medes, to whom he presented a Part of Armenia which he had lately seized, and received in Return the Promise of his Assistance against Octavian, in case a War should break out.

This Year Agrippa, though he had been already Consul, accepted of the Ædileship, in order to engage the Affections of the People by his Liberality and Munificence. He repaired almost all the public Edifices at his own Expence; restored the Highways and Aquæducts that were gone to Decay; opened Common Sewers under every Part of the City, introducing for the Purpose the Streams of feven Rivers, and making literally a fubterraneous Navigation, by which Way himself sailed into the Tiber. He repaired the Circus, exhibited most magnificent Shews, and particularly the Equestrian one of Troy, as it was called, performed by the Youth of Rome. He threw Tickets into the Theatre, entitling the Bearers to Silver, to Raiment, and other Gifts of Price. Barbers were hired at his Charge for the public Use, and Oil and Salt distributed gratis at all the Baths.

Manius Acilius Aviola was one of the Confuls (for there were seven in all) in the Course of this

Year.

Year. His Denarius bears on one Side the laureate Head of the Dea Salus, with the Title of SALV-TIS, whose Temple was on the Quirinal Mount in the fixth Region of the City. The Reverse has the same Goddess leaning on a Pillar, and holding the Serpent of Æsculapius in her right Hand, which is the Symbol of Health, with the Legend Manius ACILIVS III VIR VALE Vainis. We suppose the Statue of this Goddess to have been exected by Octavian in the same Manner. For though he was not fond of having many Statues raised to his own Honour, yet, out of the Monies presented for that Purpose, Dio Cassius informs us, that he reared them to the SALVS PVBLICA, to CONCORDIA and PAX.

Pl. VII. 7.

ANTONY AND

that there was at this Time in Rome an Office of Health, under the Direction of three Inspectors, who were called the Triumviri Valetudinis, one of whom was our Acilius; an Office highly necessary from the continual Conflux of People of all Nations to that Metropolis of the World. It is easy to conceive, that their Care must have been employed particularly in seeing that the several Parts of the City were kept clean and airy, and in the Separation of those who were insected with the Plague, or other contagious Distempers, to which

12363

ANTONY AND OCTAVIAN.

it must have been very obnoxious: an Institution worthy to be imitated in all populous Capitals. And, as the Historians are silent on this Head, and our Assertion is founded solely on the Authority of this Denarius, it is an Argument, amongst many others, strongly evincing the Utility of medallic Literature.

We cannot dismiss this Article without taking Notice of the unhappy End of this Magistrate, who, being carried out as dead, and laid upon the funeral Pile, revived when it was too late; for the Fire was lighted, and the Pile in Flames, so that he was really burnt alive.

The Confuls of the next Year, DCCXXI. were Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus and Caius Sosius, both of them the fast Friends and Lieutenants of Antony. The Name of the last we find on one of Antony's Coins, having on the adverse Side the Head of the Triumvir, with a Globe behind, and the Word IMP. On the Reverse stands an Eagle grasping in his Talons the Lightning of Jove, before him the Caduceus, and behind C. SOSIVS. Goltzius here seems to have mistaken his own Coin, reading in the Index of his Fasti C. SOSIVS IMPERATOR, as if it was the Consul's Head, and not that of the Triumvir. But Vossius, in his Notes on Velleius, has justly observed, that it is a

Coin

Pl. VII. 8.

Coin of Antony, of whom the Head bears fo great Antony and a Likeness, that the least Attention may distinguish But what the Letters Z A on the Reverse mean must be left to the ingenious Reader.

OCTAVIAN.

This Year the Jealousies of Octavian and An-Tony broke out into an open Rupture. Sofius, on his Entrance into Office, took upon him to inveigh bitterly against the former, whom he loaded with many Accusations, extolling at the same Time his Patron Antony with Praises beyond Measure. went fo far as to propose a Decree to his Prejudice, which was prevented by Nonius Balbus the Tribune. This occasioned Recriminations afterwards: for OCTAVIAN was then absent. But having received Advice of these Proceedings, he returned to Rome with fuch an armed Force as inspirited his Friends, and struck his Adversaries with Terror. A Senate was called, wherein he opened himself freely both against Antony and Sosius. At an Assembly of the Roman People he exposed the Will of ANTONY, which had been laid up with the Vestal Virgins, wherein the Children of Cleopatra were named his Heirs, and the Oriental Provinces alienated. these, and other Grievances, his Authority was abrogated, his Power of being Conful the following Year (as had been agreed) was taken from him, and War declared against Cleopatra. The Consuls

ANTONY AND OCTAVIAN.

had the Liberty of joining the Party which they had espoused, and made use of it accordingly. On the other Side, all Encouragement was proposed for such as should desert Antony, which was embraced by M. Titius, his Lieutenant and one of the next Year's Consuls, and L. Plancus, who had been honoured with that Dignity but sour Years before. Thus was the Roman World once more divided; all Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, and Illyricum, being on the Side of Octavian, and Macedonia, Greece, Cyrene, Egypt, and all Asia, with its Kings and Potentates, following the Fortune of Antony.

In a former Part of this Work it is said, that Octavian, soon after the Death of his Great Uncle Julius, raised a magnificent Temple to Venus, in which he placed the brazen Statue of the Dictator with the Julian Star upon his Head. In his second Consulate some Denarii were struck to commemorate that Event. On one Side is the Head of Octavian, with the Title IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. III. VIR ITER. R. P. C. On the other is the Temple of Venus, in which stands the Statue of the Dictator, with the Lituus or Augural Staff in his right Hand; on the Pediment the Star is represented, and underneath it are the Words DIVO IVL. On the Side of it is an Altar, with Fire burning

Pl. VII. 9.

burning on it. The Legend, which relates entirely ANTONY AND to OCTAVIAN, is COS. ITER. ET TER. DESIG.

OCTAVIAN.

About this Time ANTONY struck some Denarii at Alexandria, with his own Effigies, and the Augural Staff behind it, having the Inscription IMP. ANON. AG. IMP. IIII. COS. DES III. III. VIR. Goltz. p. 199. II. R. P. C. On the Reverse is the Palm-tree, surrounded by a Wreath of Ivy, and in the Area ALEXANDR. AEGYPT. The Ivy-wreath is the Attibute of Bacchus, whose Name Antony asfumed, and whose Divinity he pretended to perfonate; and the Palm-tree is the proper Reprefentative of Egypt on many ancient Coins. andria, the Capital of it, was become his favourite Place of Residence, which he honoured with the Title of New Rome. This he entered in his mock Triumph over the Parthians, when he led Artabazes in Chains. This Country he now confidered as his peculiar Domain, appearing frequently in the Habit of Osiris, as Cleopatra did in that of Iss. In this Attire, and feated with her on a Throne of Gold, he proclaimed her Queen of Kings, and her Son Cæsarion, whom she had by the Dictator, King of Kings; conferring upon them jointly the Kingdoms of Egypt and Cyprus. For he affirmed her to have been the Wife of the Dictator, and acknowledged Casarion as his lawful Son. At the same Time, to Vol. I. Gg his

Pl. VII. 10. f. 5.

ANTONY AND OCTAVIAN.

his own Children by her he gave, to Ptolemy, Syria, and all the Countries between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates; to young Cleopatra, Cyrene; and to Alexander, Armenia, and all Asia on the other Side the Euphrates, as far as India, as if it had been already conquered. Not content with this, he sent Letters to Rome, requiring to have these Grants publicly ratified by the People. But the Consuls, Ahenobarbus and Sosius, were too prudent to suffer them to be recited.

In the Midst of his warlike Preparations, Octavian entered upon his third Consulate. It was the Year when Antony should have borne the Fasces; but his Transactions in Egypt had given such Offence, that he was declared disqualified for that Honour. He now took upon him the Title notwithstanding, as we find by some of his Coins. They have the Head of Jupiter Ammon; the In-

Pl. VII. ri.

Pl. VII. 12.

fcription M ANTO. COS. III. IMP. IIII. One Reverse is a Victory; the other the Eagle and Ensigns of LEC. VIII.: the Legend of the first is ANTONIVS AVGur, with SCARPVS IMP. on both, who was his Lieutenant in Lybia, where stood the Temple of this Jupiter. As Octavian spent the whole Winter in amassing Money, in mustering Troops, in providing a Fleet, and exercising the Soldiers and Mariners, Antony was not less diligent

ANTONY AND OCTAVIAN.

in preparing for his Defence. His Forces on the March against Parthia were recalled, and his Lieutenant Canidius was ordered to take the Route of Ionia, at the Head of fixteen Legions. Himself set out for Ephesus with Cleopatra, where his Fleet rendezvoused, confisting of eight hundred Sail. Here it was fatally concluded that the Queen should assist the Expedition in Person. Hence they failed to Samos, where the Afatic Auxiliaries were to join them; and here they wasted the precious Time in Entertainments, and the most shameful Dissipation of every Kind. Athens received them next, where the same thoughtless Extravagancies were continued. Here several of his Friends, and amongst them Dellius and M. Syllanus, dreading the Confequences of such abandoned Luxury, and the imperious Disposition of the Queen, deferted him. At length the Fleet failed, and entered the Ambracian Gulph, while Canidius, having passed the Hellespont, marched and encamped at Actium, in the Neighbourhood of it. The Land Forces of OCTAVIAN were encamped on the other Side of the Gulph over against them. While the Armies were in this Situation, Agrippa made himself Master of Methona, Leucas, Patræ, and Corinth, and defeated Sofius, one of ANTONY's Admirals; in the Execution of which Enterprizes

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Bogud,

Antony, and Octavian.) Bogud, King of Mauritania, and Tracondimotus, King of Cilicia, of the Party of Antony, together with Sofius himself, were flain. A large Body of Horse, commanded by Antony in Person, was sud! denly affailed and put to Flight by Tities and Statilius Taurus. These were joined by Philadelphus, King of Paphlagonia. 20 On this ill Success of his Affairs, many more of Antony's best Friends left him; and even Domitius Ahenobarbus, not able to endure the Haughtiness of Cleopatra, went over to OCTAVIAN. This rendered Antony suspicious and cruel, infomuch that he put to Death Iamblichus, one of the Kings of Arabia, with Torture, and Quintus Postumius, a Roman Senator. At the same Time, the Uneasiness of Cleopatra was such. that he himself was infected with Fear. He therefore, by Night, removed his Forces farther from the Enemy; and, when Provision began to fail, held. a Council, to confider whether it was proper to come to a decifive Action immediately, or to march off and protract the War. And here, as they differed in Opinion, the Advice of Cleopatra prevailed, which was, to put strong Garrisons in all the defensible Places, and return to Egypt. But as this was not to be done privately, that it might not look like a Flight, and discourage their Friends, there was first a Necessity for coming to an En-gagement

gagement by Sea. To this strange Resolution was owing the Queen's precipitate Retreat in the Midst of the Action, the shameful Weakness of Antony in sollowing her, and the total Defeat which ensued.

Antony and Octavian.

In Consequence of the unaccountable Conclusion now spoken of, they set Fire to the Vessels that were judged least useful, manned the rest in the best Manner they could, and carried on Board all that was valuable by Night. The remaining Ships were strongly ribbed with thick Timber, and very lofty, having many of them Castles built upon their Decks, but, of Course, unwieldy and inactive. They contained, besides Mariners, two thousand Archers, and twenty thousand Legionaries. The Fleet of Octavian was also well stored with Legionary Soldiers, but the Vessels were of moderate Size, light, and quick of Motion, ready at an Onset, and easily eluding an Attack.

On the second Day of September, Antony sailed with his Fleet to the Mouth of the Gulph, and drew up his Ships in Line of Battle, under the Command of Publicola and Sosius. Here they continued thickening their Line; and Agrippa, who commanded in chief Octavian's Fleet, not caring to attack them in this Situation, waited at some Distance till Noon. A Gale then springing up, the left Wing of Antony taking the Advantage of it, sailed out, and to encourage them, the right

Antony and Octavian.

Wing of Octavian gave back. But when Agrippa perceived that they had now given him Sea-room enough for the Purpose, he ordered his light Gallies to extend their Line, and endeavour to furround them. This was observed by Antony, who was therefore called out to their Assistance even by Necessity, and not without Reluctance, which brought on a general Action in Sight of the two Armies, who were drawn up on Shore. This Conflict did by no Means resemble the Sea-fights of that Time, but seemed rather like the Attack of some fortified Place, where the Defendants, from their high Walls and Towers, endeavoured to overwhelm the Assailants with Stones and Darts, and Weapons of every Kind; for their better Security against which, the Octavian Ships were covered with a Sort of Awning. These, wherever they found themfelves unable to prevail, retired nimbly to another Vessel of the Enemy, watching every Opportunity, doing all the Mischief in their Power, and chiefly by destroying the Oars and Rudders of the Antonians, by which their unwieldy Bulk was rendered useless. This Contest had continued some Hours. and the Event was yet uncertain, when Cleopatra, who had been stationed in the Rear, no longer able to bear the Terror and Anxiety of Mind under which she laboured, gave Orders to her People to

OCTAVIAN.

hoist Sail, and take the Benefit of the Wind, which ANTONY AND blew fair for Peloponnesus. Antony saw it, and not dreaming that they fled by the Queen's Order, but supposing that their own Fears had given Wings to the Egyptian Squadron, went himself in Pursuit of them. This Motion occasioned a general Consternation amongst the Antonians. Some spread their Sails and fled; others, to do it more effectually, broke down the Towers and other Defences raised upon their Decks, and tumbled them into the Sea together. The Octavians, seeing their Confusion, continued the Attack with redoubled Ardour. But there was still a sufficient Number of brave Men left to find them full Employment. For a long Time yet the Dispute held on with doubtful Issue, when OCTAVIAN commanded Fire to be brought. from the Camp. This Sort of Offence he had determined not to make Use of, but in the last Refort; having his Eye upon the immense Wealth that was on Board the Enemy. This varied the Engagement with a new Face of Terror. Arrows were shot in Sheets of Fire against them. Torches and Flambeaux were hurled aloft; and Pots filled with burning Coals and Pitch were thrown from the Engines. All this while the Wind. grew violent, and the Effect was dreadful; fome: being suffocated with the Smoke; others burnt to Death.;

Antony and Octavian.

Death; while others, to avoid the Flames, leaped into the Sea, and were drowned in the Waves, or knocked on the Head by their Enemies. And many there were, who, disdaining a Surrender, either slew one another, or put an End to their own Lives. The rest, finding all further Resistance vain, at length submitted; and the Number of Ships taken amounted to three hundred.

This Victory raised OCTAVIAN to the absolute Government of the Roman World. On the fame Day he dedicated a Ship, of every Size or Rate taken from the Enemy, to the Actian Apollo, fo called because a Temple had been erected to him at Actium; which Octavian now enlarged, ascribing his Success to the Patronage of this supposed Deity. This is evident from the Medals of Gold which were struck the following Year, whereon appears the Head of the Conqueror, with his Titles CAESAR DIVIF. IMP. V. COS. IIII.: and on the Reverse, Apollo with his Harp; underneath, ACT. Antony's Army, after waiting a whole Week for News of him, and finding themselves deserted by Canidius, and their principal Officers, treated with the Conqueror, and entered into his Service. Where his own had encamped, he afterwards builded a City, as the Memorial of his Victory, calling it Nicopolis. Vaillant, in his Greek Coins of the Roman Emperors,

ANTONY AND

Emperors, has described several that were struck here afterwards, in Honour of this Event, which bear his Head, with the Title of ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ, or Augustus their Founder. On the Reverse, the Place is denominated IEPA ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ, or the Sacred Nicopolis. One of these has a Palm-Branch within a Rostral Crown; another, a Victory standing, in her right Hand a Wreath, and her left a Palm-Branch; another, the Lightning, with a Caduceus in the Middle.

After the Action a light Squadron was dispatched in Pursuit of Antony, which returned without Effect. He arrived fafe in Peloponnesus, with Cleopatra, where it was judged necessary for them to part for a while. The Queen therefore failed on for Egypt, which she entered in pretended Triumph, having adorned her Ships with Crowns of Victory. She then put to Death such of the Nobility as she imagined to be disaffected to her Interest; and, by feizing upon their Estates, and plundering the Treasuries of the Temples (for she spared no Place, however facred deemed) amassed an immense Fund of Money. Her Intent was to strengthen herself by fuch Means with fresh Troops and Alliances. To draw over the Monarch of Media particularly, she ordered his Rival, the King of Armenia, to be executed, and fent him his Head. In the mean Vol. I. Hh Time

ANTONY AND OCTAVIAN.

Time Antony had fent Messengers to Pinarius Scarpus, his Lieutenant in Africa, who commanded an Army there, which had been raised for the Defence of Egypt. But this Officer refused to receive him, and flew his Messengers. He therefore followed the Queen to Alexandria, where they made great Preparations for their Defence. He declared the Queen's Son, Cæsarion, and Antyllus, his own Son by Fulvia, to be of Age; honouring them with Command and Power, that they might be enabled to continue the War. But this only brought on afterwards the Destruction of the young Men. They had determined, as a last Resource, to leave Egypt, and retire to India by the Way of the Red Sea, where Ships were provided accordingly. But these were destroyed by the Arabians, at the Persuasion of Q. Didius. And the several Kings and Rulers of the East refused them Assistance in their Necessity. They had Recourse therefore to the Clemency of the Victor, whom Antony reminded of their former Friendship and Alliance, and to whom he even delivered up Turullius, who had been concerned in the Assassination of the Dictator, though he was at that Time one of his intimate Friends. But the deprecatory Presents of Cleopatra were coftly, confifting of a Crown and Scepter of Gold, and a Royal Throne. OCTAVIAN accepted the Gifts,

ANTONY AND OCTAVIAN.

Gifts, for the Omen's Sake, and executed Turullius, but gave no Answer to Antony. To the Queen's Message he answered in public, that if she would lay down her Arms, and submit Herself and her Dominions to his Mercy, he would confider what was proper to be done; but at the same Time sent her private Assurances that she might depend upon his Favour and Protection, if she would dispose of Antony. And though he could not prevail upon her so far, yet did he gain from her Intimations plain enough that she would deliver up both Him, Herself, and her Kingdom, to his Discretion.

OCTAVIAN, after the Victory of Actium, sent many of his Land Forces back to Italy, and failed himfelf for Samos, where he was scarce arrived, when Intelligence was brought to him that the Troops remanded home had mutinied, and that his Presence among them was absolutely necessary. He therefore failed back again to Brundusum, where he stayed only feven-and-twenty Days, and, having fubdued this Spirit in the Soldiery, moved Eastward once more. On his Arrival in Syria, he commissioned Cornelius Gallus to take Charge of the Army of Scarpus, which had revolted from Antony, and possess himself of Paritonium, a City and Sea-port on the Western Side of Egypt, while himself should march to Pelusum. Gallus succeeded; but Antony, confident that

ANTONY AND

that he should draw over that Army again to his Party, marched against him. He found, however, his Efforts ineffectual, being repulsed by Land, and having his Fleet destroyed in the Harbour by a Stratagem of the Enemy. OCTAVIAN was about the same Time admitted into Pelusum by the Infidelity of the Queen, from which Place he marched with all Speed to Alexandria. His Cavalry, being greatly fatigued, were instantly on their Arrival attacked and defeated by Antony. Encouraged by this, he made another Sally, wherein he was driven back with great Loss, being deserted by the Egyptians, who had the fecret Orders of Cleopatra for their Behaviour. His Friends perceived the Treachery, and reported it; but the Love of ANTONY would still be blind. The next Day he sailed out of the Harbour with all his naval Strength, when the whole Egyptian Fleet went over to OCTAVIAN. Forced therefore to have Recourse to the Land Forces once more, he hastened on Shore, when he found that these also had taken Part with the Enemy. He then ran to the Palace in Despair, with Design to wreak his Vengeance on the faithless Queen. But here he was told, that having shut herself up in the fumptuous Monument which she had been for some Time past erecting, she had put an End to her own Life. This melted him down, converting

OCTAVIAN.

all his Rage into Tenderness. He determined to ANTONY AND die likewise, and entreated one of his Slaves to dispatch him. But, instead of pointing the Weapon at his Master, he stabbed himself. Animated by this Example, he wounded himself with his own Sword, and fell upon his Face, and his Attendants supposed him dead. But a great Outcry being made on this Occasion, Cleopatra looked out from the Top of the Monument, the Gate of which was fo contrived, that, being once shut, it could not be opened. The Sight of the Queen was followed by another extraordinary Exclamation, which feemed to awaken Antony. Hearing that she was still living, he raifed himself, hoping that the Stroke which he had given himself might not prove mortal. But a great Quantity of Blood issuing from the Wound, convinced him of the contrary. He then defired to be conveyed to the Monument; where Cleopatra, affisted by those who were with her, drew him up to the Top, with much Toil, by the Ropes made use of for drawing up the Stones, and in her Arms he expired.

In this Monument the Queen herself was soon after surprized by Proculeius, and so became the Captive of OCTAVIAN; of whom she obtained Leave to bury the Body of her deceased Husband (for fuch he was, having married her after his divorcing Antony and Octavian.

vorcing Octavia) in such Manner as she should think proper. His Obsequies were therefore royally performed; after which she removed to the Palace. All this while she was closely watched by Epaphroditus, the Freedman of OCTAVIAN, commissioned by his Master for that Purpose, that she might not do Violence to herself, and he scarce suffered her a Moment out of his Sight. Here she was honoured with a Visit by Octavian, whom she received in a mourning Habit, a Dress which mightily became her. In this Interview the exerted all her Art to captivate her Conqueror, who evidently feared her Power in that Respect; for he kept his Eyes all the Time fixed upon the Ground, and at parting only bade her "be of good Courage, for she should " have no Hurt." This looked inauspicious. Her high Spirit disdained a Thought of being led in Triumph, or of living less than Queen of Egypt. Having therefore received further Assurances that fuch was really the Intention of Octavian, she pretended to make herself ready for the Voyage, and to collect fuch Jewels and Curiofities as might be acceptable to LIVIA and Octavia, expressing much Confidence in the Generofity of OCTAVIAN. Having thus lulled them into a Persuasion that she had given over all Thoughts of dying, and induced her Keepers thereby to remit somewhat of their wonted

wonted Vigilance, she ordered a sumptuous Entertainment for her Friends, of which she partook with much Chearfulness. In the Midst of their Pleasantry, she delivered a Letter to Epaphroditus, desiring him to bear it forthwith to Octavian, as containing Business of high Importance. This Opportunity of his Absence she laid hold of for the Perpetration of her Design. As soon as he was gone, she retired with two of her Women, carrying a Basket of Figs which had been brought to her, and in which an Asp was concealed. Being now dressed in the most elegant Manner possible, and with all her regal Ornaments about her, she applied the Asp to her Arm, and expired without any Sense of Pain.

Antony and Octavian.

Ausa et jacentem visere regiam
Vultu sereno fortis, et asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum,
Deliberata morte serocior:
Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens
Privata deduci superbo,
Non bumilis mulier, triumpho.

HORAT. Ode 37. l. 1.

Unmov'd she saw her State destroy'd,
Her Palace now a lonely void,
Nor with her profligated Host,
For Succour sled to some far-distant Coast.
With fearless Hand she dar'd to grasp
The Writhings of the wrathful Asp,
And suck the Poison through her Veins,
Resolv'd on Death, and siercer from its Pains.

Then

ANTONY AND OCTAVIAN.

Of mighty CESAR's naval Hoft,
And arm'd with more than mortal Spleen,

Defrauds a Triumph, and expires a Queen.

FRANCIS.

Such was the End of ANTONY and CLEOPATRA, after a Life of continual Diffipational He had been always a Lover of Pleasure, though by no Means a Person of that abandoned Profligacy, which the Philippics of Cicero represent him to have been. For before his Intimacy with the Queen of Egypt, we have sufficient Evidence of his Abilities both in Council and in Camps, as well as of his Magnanimity and Fortitude in adverse Times. But his Bravery was quite dissolved in the Arms of Cleopatra, nor after his Connection with her do we hear of any Thing from him which was truly great and gallant. A profitable Lesson of Continence and Caution, to all those who would shine in any public Sphere of Life! Indeed, if his Behaviour could admit of any Excuse, he is in some Sort entitled to it; as there are very few perhaps who could have borne up against so powerful a Temptation. The Dictator himself, whose Prudence, Policy, and Vigilance, are well known, after his Defeat of Pompey, fell so far under it that it had nearly completed his Ruin. Her Form and Features were most elegant. The Modulation of her Voice was inexpressibly

OCTAVIAN.

inexpressibly sweet and engaging: and in her particular Address to others, a Sort of Enchantment accompanied her Aspect and Speech, insomuch that, however cold from Age or Constitution they might be, it was impossible for them not to love her. Her acquired Beauties were equal to the natural. Besides the Greek and Latin, she was Mistress of almost all the Languages of the East, in which she delivered her Sentiments to the several Princes and Ambassadors of it with such Propriety, Grace, and Dignity, as was truly wonderful. But these rich Endowments were not without their Alloy. The Consciousness of her own Accomplishments swelled into Pride, at the same Time that her Desire of pleasing degenerated into Licentiousness. Love of Wealth, as the Means of Power, grew to be rapacious; yet her Bounty was real Prodigality. Her Fear of being supplanted deviated into Cruelty, and her Ambition knew no Limits. For the aspired to the Dominion of Rome itself; by which unreasonable Aim she lost that of her own Country and Herself. She was the last of the Ptolemies who governed Egypt, and died in the thirty-ninth Year of her Age and the twenty-third of her Reign. By her Treachery to Antony at last she had hoped still to secure that Kingdom to her Fa-VOL. I. mily.

OCTAVIAN.

Pl. VII. 13.

mily, but finding that impracticable, resolved to die and be buried with him.

All the Greek Coins that I have feen of CLEOPA-TRA fingly, or of ANTONY and CLEOPATRA joined, are very indifferently executed. The best has the Face of Cleopatra wearing the Diadem, with BACIAICCA KAEOTIATPA OEA NEWTEPA; with the Head of Antony on the other Side, inscribed ANTWNIOC ATTOKPATOP TPITON TPION ANDPON: i. e. Regina Cleopatra Dea Junior, and Antonius Imperator tertio Triumvir. But the former have generally the Head of the Queen on one Side, and the Egyptian Eagle grasping the Lightning, as on all the Coins of the Ptolemies, on the Reverse: the Legend ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ. Those of the Roman Stamp are much more elegant. One of them has the Heads of ANTONY and CLEOPATRA adverse, or facing each other, with the Inscription M. ANT. IMP. IT. COS. DESIG. III. VIR. R. P. C. Behind the Head of Cleopatra is the Prow of a Ship. On the Reverse is a Ship carried, with Sails and Oars, and underneath it PRÆF. CLASS. F. C. for Præfectus Classis sheri curavit. Another has the Heads joined, with M. ANTONIVS IMP. COS. DESIG. ITERET. TERT. The Reverse differs but little from one of Antony's already,

mentioned.

Pl. VII. 14.

mentioned. It contains the Figure of Is standing on a Pedestal, in her Hand a Scepter of the Lotus; Pl. VII. 15. a Serpent rifes on its Folds on each Side as high as the Shoulders of the Figure. The Legend is only a Continuation of ANTONY'S Titles, III VIR R. P. C.

Medallic Memorials of the Success of OCTAVIAN on this Occasion are not wanting. One of these Pl. VII. 162 also bears the Head of Jupiter Ammon, with the Word PONTIFex: on the other Side, a VICTORY is represented standing upon a Globe, holding a Wreath in her right Hand and a Palm-branch in her left. In the Area, IMP CAES DIVI F.

Another has only a full Ear of Corn, with the Pl. VII. 17. Greek Inscription KAICAPOC. On the Reverse is the Palm-tree, the Type of Alexandria: in the Area are the Letters L. A. The Year of Oc-TAVIAN'S Conquest of Egypt proved uncommonly fruitful; and to secure, as far as might be, this Fertility, the Victor had all the Refervoirs or Fosses, dug for the Reception of the Waters of the Nile, effectually cleansed and put in Order. Whence the Poet Virgil

te maximus orbis Auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem Accipiat.

Georg: I. 1. 26:

Thee let the World repute Lord of its Seasons, Author of its Fruit.

From

OCTAVIAN.

From this Year the Egyptians began a new Computation of Time, calling it the Æra of the Victory of Actium. In the first Year of this Æra was the Coin before us struck. This appears from the Letters L. A. The Greeks called the Year Lycabas, from Lycus the Sun, whose supposed Revolution forms it, and A is the Numerical Letter for one. So that the L. A. signify the first Year.

Pl. VII. 18. Patin. Imp. Rom. p. 30.f.2.

Another bears the Head of Octavian, but was firuck after the Title of Augustus had been conferred upon him, with the Inscription IMP. AVG. DIVI F. Behind the Head is the Caduceus of Peace, and on the Reverse, the Egyptian Labyrinth, nearly as it appears on one of the Coins of M. Aurelius.

This Event happened in the Year of the City DCCXXIII. when Octavian was a fourth Time Conful. He reduced Egypt to the Form of a Roman Province, appointing Cornelius Gallus, an Equestrian, to be the first Governor. This is the Poet of that Name who is celebrated by Virgil. Casarion, the Son of Cleopatra by the Dictator, and as such capable of creating Troubles, was put to Death. Antyllus, the eldest Son of Antony by Fulvia, perished in the same Manner. Julius Antonius, another Son by Fulvia, afterwards married one of the Daughters of Octavia, and was in great

Fayour

Favour with the Conqueror, till his Amour with OCTAVIAN. Julia his Daughter, which proved fatal to him. Cleopatra, the Queen's youngest Daughter, was educated in a princely Manner by the same OEtavia, and married to Juba the Mauritanian King, fome of whose Coins in Silver are yet to be found. On the one Side you have his Bust, with the Title Pl. VII. 192 REX IVBA; on the Reverse, the Lotus and Sistrum, with BACIAI KAEOHATRA. And to the Care of these two were the remaining Brothers, named Alexander and Ptolemy, whom Cleopatra bore to Antony, committed. This Triumvir had also two Daughters by the Sister of OCTAVIAN. These were called Antonia major, and Antonia minor. The eldest was married to L. Domitius Abenobarbus, and was the Grandmother of the Emperor Nero. The youngest became the Wife of Drusus, and the Mother of the Emperor CLAUDIUS.

OCTAVIAN having fettled the Affairs of Egypt; and of all the Eastern Provinces, in the Winter, returned to Rome the following Year, where his Victories were celebrated by three successive Triumphs; in which Year he was the fifth Time Conful. The first Day's Triumph was for his Successes. over the Pannonians, Dalmatians, and others, before his last Dispute with Antony: the second was for the Victory of Actium by Sea: and the third, by much

OCTAVIAN.

the most splendid and magnificent, for the Subduction of Egypt. The Wealth which he brought with him from that Kingdom was so immense, that it funk the Interest of Money more than one Half, and raised the Value of Land accordingly. What Crowns, Supplications, Privileges, and extraordinary Honours were decreed to him on this Occafion, it were almost superfluous to say. The Tribunitial Power and Authority for Life, extending Half a Mile beyond the Walls; the Judgment of Appeals, which had always been made to the People before; that all his Acts should be confirmed yearly by the Oaths of the succeeding Confuls on the first of January, the Day of their Entrance into Office; the Power of enlarging the Pontifical College as he pleased; that the same Prayers and Sacrifices should constantly be offered for him as for the Senate and People of Rome, and Libations made for him at all Entertainments, both public and private. The Day on which he made his Entrance was declared a perpetual Festival; he was stiled IMPERATOR in the most unlimited Sense of the Word; and in foreign Countries even Temples were erected, and Divine Honours paid to him. But nothing gave him fo much Delight as his shutting up the Temple of Janus. His triumphal Coin is of Gold; bearing his Head, with CAESARI





CAESARI DIVI F. COS. V. IMP. VII. On the OCTAVIAN. Reverse is the usual quadrigated Car; and underneath, S. P. Q. R. At the same Time triumphed C. Carrinas, over the Morini and Suevi. His Denarius too bears the Head of OCTAVIAN, whose Lieutenant he was in Gaul, with IMP CAESAR DIVI IVLI F. The Reverse bears a VICTORY, standing on the Prow of a Ship; in her right Hand the Wreath of Laurel, and a Palm-branch in her Left; the Legend C. CARRINAS C. F. PRO COS. L. Autronius Paetus also triumphed in the following Month, for some Successes obtained in Africa. His Denarius shews the galeated Head of Rome, with PAETVS PR. COS. On the other Side is the quadrigated Car; and underneath, L. ATRO-NIVS. This Year OCTAVIAN was honoured by the Senate with the illustrious Title of Father of his Country. We therefore find it added afterwards to one of his Triumphal Coins of Gold, the Inscription of which runs thus, CAESAR AVGVSTVS. Pl. VII. 20. DIVI'F. PATER PATRIAE.

OCTAVIAN continued his Confulship for fix Years longer, without Intermission. While he was now a fixth Time discharging that Office, AGRIPPA fhared it with him for the second Time. His Medal is of Gold, having on one Side the Heads of Julius and Octavian. Behind that of the former

Pl. VIII. T.

are the Words DIVOS IVLIVS; behind the latter, DIVI F. On the other Side is the Head of Agrippa, with a Rostral Crown; and underneath it the Three Legs conjoined, being the Type of Sicily, with the Title M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. IER. DES. TER. The Coin of Octavian is a beautiful Medallion of Silver, bearing his laureate Head, with this pompous Inscription, IMP. CAESAR. DIVI. F. COS. VI. LIBERTATIS P.

Pl. VIII. 2.

R. VINDEX. On the Reverse, inclosed within a Wreath of Olive, stands the Figure of Peace, holding a Caduceus in her right Hand; behind her a Serpent, the Emblem of Light and Health, rifes from an open Chest; in the Area, PAX. As he calls himself here The Assertor of the Roman Freedom, so he seems from this Time to have taken up a Resolution of convincing the People that they were not Slaves. To this End he exhibited the most magnificent Spectacles; made public Distributions of Corn and Money; readily affifted the poorer Senators; supplied the public Treasury, appointing two annual Treasurers of Prætorian Rank; cancelled the old Debts due to the Public, making void all Securities given to the State before the Battle of Actium. And, as many iniquitous Ordinances had passed in the Course of the Civil Wars, chiefly by the Authority of LEPIDUS and ANTONY,

by one public Edict he repealed them all, fixing this Year of his fixth Consulship as the utmost Limit of Duration for those Laws. Hence we fee on the Reverse of one of his Coins, a Solar Terminus fixt upon the Lightning, the Symbol of Power; and in the Area, IMP, CAESA. This I conceive to have been the Intention of the Coin before us: though I am aware that others have viewed it in a very different Light. The Emperor was ever careful to bring his Defigns to Maturity, before he proceeded to the Execution of them, having frequently in his Mouth the Greek Adage Σπευδε βραδεως, Haften flowly: "Which Saying," fay they "he expressed " upon his Coins, when he joined a Terminus to " the Lightning." (See Grævius's Edition of Suetonius, 1691, p. 151; also the Leyden Edition of Aulus Gellius, p. 520; and Ozell's Rabelais, in 12°, p. 174, Note 4.) But fond as he was of this proverbial Speech, I find it expressed upon his Coins some Years after this by a very different Device. These have the laureate Head of CAESAR AV-GVSTVS; and on the Reverse a Crab, with open Claws, seizing a Butterfly. It is the Emblem of Deliberation arresting Speed, and alludes to the cautious Prudence of Augustus, who used to declare, that nothing was less suitable to the Character of a compleat General than Haste and Temerity. " Haften Kk VOL. I.

OCTAVIAN.

Pl. VIII. 33.

Pl. VIII. 4.

" Hasten therefore leifurely," said he, " for the " cautious is preferable to the rash Soldier, and that " is always done foon enough, which is done well " enough." The Legend only gives the Name of M. DVRMIVS the III. VIR Monetalis who struck it. By these Means he secured the Esteem of all, and established his Power upon the best Foundation, the Good-will of the Citizens. He now compleated a Census of them, by which their Number appeared to be 4,164,000. He purged the Senate of all mean and unworthy Members; filled up the Number of Patricians, which had been much diminished by the Civil Wars; and ordained that no Senator should pass out of Italy without his Permission, except to Sicily or the Narbonensian Gaul. By which he restored its Dignity to that venerable Council, and provided against future Troubles. He was rigid in reforming the Equestrian Order; and made feveral wholesome Laws for the Restraint of Luxury and Expence, of Corruption, Adultery, and Immodesty, and for the Encouragement of Marriage. He fecured the City, as much as might be, against Inundations and Fires; and so repaired and adorned it with public Buildings, as to have Reason to boast afterwards, that, though he had found it of Brick, he should leave it of Marble. The principal of these Works were the Forum, with the

the Temple of Mars the Avenger, which is therefore represented on the Reverse of one of his Coins; of OLYMPIAN JOVE, which we likewise find so depicted; and of Apollo, in the Palatium, with its Library, which the Author takes to be represented on the Reverse referred to. Many other Temples, ruinous through Age, or confumed by Fire, he repaired or re-edified. He took upon himself the Reparation of the Flaminian Way from Rome to Ariminum, committing to those of the highest Rank the Care of the other public Ways. For this, triumphal Arches, filled with Trophies and Statues, were erected to him on the Bridge of the Tiber, and at Ariminum, which are represented in the Reverses annexed, the last of which expresses the Reason in the Legend, QVOD. VIAE. MVNitæ SVNT. Another, struck by Cn. Cinna Magnus, informs us how the Expence of this great Work was defrayed, even from such Monies as Augustus himfelf had delivered into the public Treasury. It exhibits his Head, crowned with a Civic Wreath, and the Title AVGVSTO CAESARI. Reverse is a Pedestal, inscribed with S. P. Q. R. IMP. CAE. QVOD. V. M. S. EX. EA. P. Q. IS. AD. A. DE. Senatus Populus que Romanus Imperatori Cæsari Quod Viæ munitæ sunt ex ea Pecunia Kk 2 quam

OCTAVIAN.
Pl. VIII. 5.

Pl. VIII. 6.

Pl. VIII. 7.

Pl. VIII. 8.

Pl. VIII. 9.

Pl. VIII. 10.

quam is ad Ærarium detulit. Around the Verge, CN. CINNA MAGNVS III. VIR.

At this Time, OCTAVIAN entertained ferious Thoughts of refigning all his Power, and restoring the ancient Constitution. To this End he had a long Consultation with his fincere Friends, Agrippa and Mecanas. The former encouraged this Dispofition by every Argument in his Power; but the latter, by Conclusions drawn from past Experience, and the Condition of the present Times, convinced him that he could no otherwise be fafe, than by retaining his Authority. He gave him, at the same Time, the most excellent Rules that could be given. for the Regulation of his Conduct. These are imparted to us at large by Dio Gassius. He advised him particularly fo to govern others as he would wish to be governed himself, was he in a private Station. "For how is it possible," says he, "for "Men not to respect and love the Prince, whose "Moderation, Integrity, Prudence, Bravery, inof-" fensive Behaviour, and Condescension, they shall "have continually before their Eyes?" These Thoughts were therefore laid aside for the present. Yet on the Ides, the 13th, of January of the following Year, when himself was the seventh Time, and Agrippa a third Time, Conful, a Feint was made

made by OCTAVIAN, in full Senate, to the same Purpose. This Proposal was a Master-stroke of Policy, and answered many weighty Ends. While he was yet making it, he met with frequent Interruptions. But when he had finished, all of them, with many and vehement Entreaties, befought him to take upon himself the Management of the Commonwealth, and at length, though with much feeming Difficulty, prevailed. Yet there were fome Conditions which he still insisted upon. One of them was, that they should share with him the Burden, which would be otherwise too weighty for him. The weaker and more peaceable Provinces were therefore to be under the Direction of the Senate and People. These were Africa, Numidia, Asia, Greece with Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Sicily, Crete, Cyrene, Bithynia with Pontus, Sardinia, and Hispania Bætica. Those reserved for OCTAVIAN were, the rest of Spain, all Gaul, with the neighbouring People, Cælo-Syria, Phenicia, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Egypt. But afterwards he exchanged with the Senate the Island of Cyprus and the Narbonensian Gaul, for the Province of Dalmatia; and more Changes were made in After-times. Condition was, that he would hold the Reins for ten Years, and no longer. By the Expiration of which Term, he doubted not but that all Matters concerning

concerning the Empire would be in so peaceable and orderly a Train, that they would have no further Need of his Assistance; and that, could this desireable. Event be brought about much sooner, he would with Joy retire the fooner to that Repose which most of all he coveted. Thus all Parties were pleafed, or feemed to be fo; and the Senate decreed a double Stipend for the military Guard of the Emperor. And thus OCTAVIAN reigned with absolute and imperial Authority, by the unanimous Election and Appointment of the Senate and People of Rome. To do him the more Honour, therefore, it was ordained, that Laurels should be placed before his Palace, and Wreaths of Oak suspended on them, intimating him to be the perpetual Conqueror of Enemies, and the Saviour of the Citizens. At the same Time, the venerable Title of AVGVS-TVS was conferred upon him, and appears accordingly upon the Medals of Gold which were ftruck on this Occasion. These have the laureate Head of OCTAVIAN, with the Title AVGVSTVS. D. F. COS. VII. CIVIBVS. SERVATEIS.; the Reverse has an Eagle cowering, between two Laurel-trees, and holding in his Talons a Civic Crown. By this Name he is therefore distinguished for the future on all Roman Coins, as on the Greek by that of ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ, and must therefore so be called. The Coins

Avgvstvs.

Pl. VIII. 11.

Pl. VIII. 12.

Coins of Agrippa, of this Date, bear his rostrate Head, with M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. III; the Reverse, as usual, shews the Figure of Neptune holding a Dolphin upon his right Hand, and the Trident in his Lest; in the Area S C, for Senatus Consulto. We meet with some of the same, which appear by the Legend of the Reverse to have been restored by Titus and Domitian.

This Year M. Valerius Messala was permitted to triumph, for some Advantages obtained in Gaul.

By a Law preferred by Sextus Pacuvius, one of the Tribunes of the People, the Name of the Month Sextilis was changed to August, in Honour of the Emperor.

M. Licinius Crassus also triumphed at this Time, for his late Successes against the Dacians and Bastarnæ, who had invaded Thrace. His Denarius has on one Side a bigated Car; underneath it M. CRASS. M. F.: and on the other a VICTORY.

Pl. VIII. 13;

Augustus now marched with an Army, in order to invade Britain; but while he was in Gaul, the British Ambassadors waited upon him, and, by their Submission, obtained Peace. Having therefore settled the Affairs of Gaul, he marched into Spain, and was at Tarraco, the Capital of the Province to which it gave Name, when he entered into his eighth Consulship. Statilius Taurus, who had

AVCVSTVS.

Pl. VIII. 14.

Pl. VIII. 15.

had once before enjoyed that Dignity, being his Colleague. This last was also one of the Triumviri Monetales, or Masters of the Mint, at this Time, as appears from the Coin referred to, which bears his Title as fuch, and has on the Reverse the Civic Crown between two Laurels, with the Legend OB CIVIS SERVATOS. Others of the same Tenor were struck by Domitius Abenobarbus and Cornelius Scipio, his Collegues in Office, and after them by Quinctilius Varus, Plotius Rufus, and Afinius Gallus. The Denarius of Augustus for this Year has also on its Reverse the two Laurels, inclosing a curule Chair, with three civic Crowns, and the Name of another Mint-master, L. MESCINIUS RVFVS III, VIR. The third of these Officers was Petronius Turpilianus, whose Medal of Gold bears on one Side the Head of the Dea Libera, with TVRPI-LIANVS. III. VIR; and on the other a Civic Crown, inclosing the Legend AVGVSTO OB. C. S. for ob Cives Servates, as in the former.

The Salassi, Cantabrians, and Asturians, were now in Arms. The former of these were easily subdued by Terentius Varro. But the Emperor, who had undertaken the more difficult Expedition against the two latter, being confined at Tarraco by Sickness, committed the Management of the War against them to C. Antistius and T. Carisius, who in this

and the following Campaign, when Augustus was Avgvstvs. Conful for the ninth Time, were attended with Success. On which Account the Temple of Janus was again shut, as appears from the Coin referred to, the Reverse of which has the Temple of that Deity closed; and in the Area IANum CLVst. A Triumph was decreed for the Emperor, which he refused. Triumphal Ornaments were then voted for him, to be worn on every first of January, and a magnificent Trophy was erected upon the Alps.

Pl. VIII. 16.

All this while Agrippa was embellishing Rome with new Structures. He enlarged and adorned with Wainscot and Pictures the Septa in the Campus Martius, a Kind of circular Piazza, where the Assemblies of the People were held, calling it, in Honour of Augustus, the Septa Julia. He erected the Temple of Neptune with the Argonautic Portico, so distinguished from the Figures there exhibited; the Baths called by his Name; and the Pantheon, which is yet entire. By fuch Munificence he fecured to himself the Affection of the Emperor, and the Esteem of all Men.

A new Colony was now founded upon the Tagus, in Lustania, and the Place denominated Emerita, because it consisted of old Soldiers now discharged the Service, who were called Emeriti. The modern Name of it is Merida. The Memorial of its Foundation is upon a Copper Coin, bearing

Pl. VIII. 17.

Pl. VIII. 18.

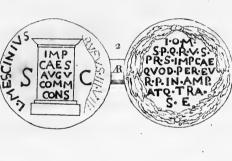
the Head of Augustus; and, on the Reverse, one driving a Yoke of Oxen: underneath EMERITA. Another Reverse has the Figure of the Colony itself.

The Marriage of Marcellus, the Son of OCTAVIA. with Julia, the Daughter of Augustus, was now celebrated by Agrippa with great Magnificence. Amyntas, King of Gallogrecia with Lycaonia, now dying, his Dominions were reduced into the Form of a Roman Province, of which M. Lollius was the first Governor.

Augustus was now preparing for his Return to Rome, when he entered into his tenth Consulship; and, as he proposed to give the People a Taste of his Liberality, by distributing to every Man one hundred Denarii, (yet refused to do it without Confent of the Senate, as it would be an Infringement of former Decrees) a very extraordinary Resolution passed, declaring him " free from the Obligation of every Law." The Senate swore to the Observance of his Acts on the Kalends of Fanuary, and, on his Arrival, ordered public Vows and Sacrifices for his Health and Return. These are commemorated on one of his Coins, with his Head, and the Inscription Senatus Populus Que Romanus CAESARI AVGVSTO. On the Reverse stands the Figure of a Soldier galeated, holding the Labarum or Enfign in his right Hand, and the Parazonium or Ismall

Pl. VIII. 19.





































Avgvstvs.

fmall Sword in his left. The Legend is VOTa Publica SVSCepta PRO SALute ET REDitu Iovi Optimo Pl. VIII. 20. Maximo SACRa. There is a very fine Medallion of Silver, with a curious Head of Augustus on one Side, and an Altar carved with Festoons and Figures, which may have been struck on this Occasion. Another has a plain Altar on the Reverse, with S C on the Sides, and underneath PROVI-DENTiæ, as inscribed to the Providence of Augus-There is another, struck by Miscennius Rufus above mentioned, with a Pedestal, inscribed IMP. CAES. AVGV. COMM. CONS; on the Sides, Impereatori Cæsari Augusto Communi Consensus, Senatus Consulto. This sufficiently explains the former. On the other Side, inclosed within a Civic Crown, I. O. M. S. P. Q. R. V. S. PR. S. IMP. CAE. QVOD. PER. EV. R. P. IN. AMP. ATQ. TRAN. S. E. Jovi Optimo Maximo Senatus Populus Que Romanus Vota Solvit Pro Salute Imperatoris Cæsaris Quod Per Eum Res Publica in Ampliore Atque Tranquilliore Statu Est; though this last may not improbably relate to his Recovery from that Complaint which Antonius Musa relieved.

Pl. IX. 1.

Pl. IX. 2.

High Honours were now paid to the Imperial Family, a Seat in the Senate being voted for young Marcellus amongst those of Pretorian Rank, with a Power of standing for the Consulate ten Years I, 1 2 fooner

fooner than the Laws allowed; the Office of Edile was immediately conferred upon him, and he was admitted into the Pontifical College. Tiberius also, the Son of Livia by her former Husband, was made Questor of the City before the usual Time, being then but in his one-and-twentieth Year. In this Capacity he was very useful, and rendered himself popular in the present Scarcity, by introducing Plenty of Corn into the City. He was moreover permitted to hold the several Magistracies in Order five Years before the usual Time.

On the Departure of Augustus from Spain, the Cantabrians and Asturians treacherously put to Death many of the Roman Soldiers, and flew to Arms again; but were quickly brought into Order by L. Aemilius, who had been left Commander in those Parts. At the same Time Ælius Largus, Governor of Egypt, led an Army into Arabia Felix, the greater Part of which perished for Want of Necessaries in that defart Country, through the Heat of the Climate, and the pernicious Quality of the Water; after which, the Inhabitants speedily recovered what Places they had loft, and drove out the Invaders. While this Expedition was going forward, the Troops of Candace, Queen of Ethiopia, to the Number of thirty thousand, made an Irruption into Egypt, but were repulsed and defeated

feated by Petronius, who fucceeded to the Com- Avgustus. mand. He pursued the Enemy beyond the Cataracts of the Nile, eight hundred and feventy Miles up into the Country, taking many Places, and among others Tanape, or Napata, which was the Royal Residence, and obliging the Queen to fubmit to his Conditions.

Augustus, being now the eleventh Time Conful, and having Calpurnius Piso for his Colleague, relapsed into a grievous Fit of Sickness, which, it was generally supposed, would prove mortal. He called to him the Magistrates and principal Persons of the Senatorian and Equestrian Orders, whom he acquainted with the State of the public Affairs. giving a little Book to Pi/o, which contained an exact Account of the Armies and Revenues, drawn up by Himself, and delivering his Signet to Agrippa. He was however restored to Health by the cold Bath and cooling Potions prescribed to him by Antonius Musa, who, for this important Service, received great Rewards both from the Emperor and Senate, and, though a Freedman, was permitted to wear a Gold Ring. And for his Sake Immunity was granted to the whole Faculty for ever. But Marcellus, falling fick foon after, died under the same Prescription. Augustus, on his Recovery, carried his Will with him to the Senate, intending

tending to recite it to them openly, to convince them that he had named no Successor; but was prevented doing this by the unanimous Remonstrance of that illustrious Body. He now appointed ten Prætors of the City for a Continuance of several Years, two of whom only at a Time were to difcharge annually the Duties of that Office. At this Time he feems to have erected a Temple to Perpetual Peace, fince his Medal of this Year reprefents fuch a Temple on its Reverse, with the Words in the Area, PACI PERPetuæ. There is another of this Year, having the Head of AVGVSTVS

Pl. IX. 4.

Pl. IX. 3.

COS XI.; and on the other Side, that of Agrippa, with a Rostrate and a Mural Crown. The Legend is M. AGRIPPA. COS. TER, and under it the Name of COSSVS LENTVLVS, who was Conful in the Year of the City DCCLII. and at present one of the Triumviri Monetales.

The Emperor had retired to Alba, when he thought fit to abdicate his Office of Conful, and appoint L. Sestius to succeed him. This Person had been one of the Friends and Partizans of Brutus, and was publicly known to entertain the highest Esteem and Veneration for his Memory, whose Statues he kept in his House. This Act of Difinterestedness was therefore extremely grateful to all Ranks of People. The Senate, to shew maii mi

Pl. IX. 5.

their Gratitude, invested him with Proconfular Authority for ever, and a Power superior to all Governors in their respective Provinces. It was decreed, that he should have a Right of proposing to the Senate whatfoever he pleafed, whether Conful or not. And, to crown all, he was declared Perpetual Tribune of the People throughout the whole Extent of the Roman Empire. This Honour was very agreeable to him, as it rendered his Perfon inviolable in all Places. From this Time therefore we find it on all his Coins, as on the following, which shews his Head, with the Inscription AVGVSTVS TRibunicia POTestate. The Reverse has the Pontifical Apex or Mitre, with two of the Ancilia or facred Shields, and the Name of the Triumvir Monetalis who struck it, P. STOLO III. VIR. On a Coin of Bronze the same Officer has inclosed this Title in a Wreath of Laurel. From this Event he began to number the Years of his future Reign. But as his Successors assumed this Title from the Moment they took Possession of the Imperial Throne, it will follow, that the Number annexed to the Tribunitial Title on their Coins. is the Number of the Years which they have reigned already.

But these were not the only Honours at this Time intended for him. For as at the latter End

of this Year, and the Beginning of the next, divers Calamities happened; as an Inundation of the Tiber, a Plague ravaging all Italy, and a Scarcity of Provisions; the People, crying out that these Evils were inflicted by the Gods, because Augustus now enjoyed no formal Magistracy, compelled the Senate to name him Perpetual Dictator wel They waited upon him in a Body, with four-and-twenty Fasces accordingly. But this invidious Appellation he constantly refused, even rending his Robe, baring his Breast, and falling upon his Knees in the Fervency of his Passion. But the Office of Proveditor of the City, which they likewise offered, and which Pompey the Great once held, he readily accepted of; appointing two Deputies for the Discharge of it. These were the Ædiles Frumentarii, or the Ediles of Ceres, to whom was committed the Care of feeing that the City was duly supplied with Corn. "Six Ediles," fays Dio, "were then first appointed, two Patrician, and four Plebeian, two of which " last are called the Ediles of Ceres." They appear feated in the Medal before us, on the Face of which is Ceres crowned with Ears of Corn; the Inscription ÆDiles PLehis.

Pl. IX. 6.

And in conferring these Honours our Author (Dio) is very positive that Adulation had no Share, but that the Romans herein acted with great Sincerity

AvgvsTvs.

of Heart; for that Augustus, on all Occasions, treated them as a free People. An Instance he gives in the Case of Teridates, who, having been driven from the Parthian Throne by his Brother Phraates, had taken Refuge with Augustus, in Hopes of being reinstated by him. Ambassadors from Phraates were now come to Rome, requiring not only his own Son, whom he had delivered to the Emperor on his Return from Egypt, but Teridates also, to be surrendered to him. Both Parties made Application to Augustus, who denied that the Cognizance of the Affair belonged to him. He therefore referred them to the Senate; who heard the Pleas of both, and then configned the Dispute to him, who refused to surrender the fugitive Prince, but gave back his Son to Phraates, on Condition of his restoring the Roman Prisoners and Enfigns which had been taken in the unfortunate Expeditions of Crassus and Antony. This, however, was not immediately complied with.

Two Years after, Augustus married his Daughter Julia, the Widow of Marcellus, to his Favourite Agrippa; obliging him to repudiate his former Wife, though she was the Daughter of his Sister Octavia. Himself had quitted Rome, passing over into Sicily and Greece. Having settled the Affairs of those Countries, he wintered in the Island of Samos.

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The next Summer he visited Asia and Bithynia, AVCVSTVS. when Phraates, fearing that he would carry his Arms into Parthia, fued for Peace, delivered up all the Roman Enfigns in his Possession, together with the Prisoners and Deserters. This was Matter of great Glory. This Event is celebrated on several Medals. One of Silver, of the largest Size, has an Pl. IX. 7. excellent Head of Augustus, and under it IMP. IX. TR. PO. V.; on the Reverse is a grand Triumphal Arch, and within it S. P. R. SIGNIS RE-CEPTIS. Another, struck by Turpilianus, bears Pl. IX. 8. the Head of FERONIA, a Goddess in great Repute amongst the Sabines, whose Countryman this Mintofficer was. The Title is therefore TVRPILIA-NVS. III. VIR.: under the Head FERON.: the other Side represents a Legionary Soldier on one Knee, holding out an Enfign; the Legend CAE-SAR AVGVSTVS SIGN. RECE. Another has the Head of Augustus, with IMP. CAESARI Pl. IX. 9. Goltz. p. 209. AVG. COS. XI. TR. POT. VI. S. P. Q. R.; the f. 3. Reverse has a Civic Crown inclosing the Legend CIVIB. ET. SIGN MILIT. A. PARTHIS. RE-STIT. Another is inscribed by M. Durmius the Pl. IX. 10. Col. Pemb. Triumvir HONORI, bearing the Head of HONOUR, 140. f. 2. and has the same Reverse with the former of Turpilianus. The same Year Julia bore a Son to Agrippa,

known

known by the Name of CAIVS CAESAR. And now Augustus returned to Rome, and was received with the usual Gratulations, public Vows and Sacrifices; which appear on his Denarii, whereon we have his laureate Head without any Inscription; and on the Reverse the galeated Figure of Mars, already described, with the Name of the Triumvir Monetalis, and on the Base S. P. Q. R. V. P. RED. CAE. S. Senatus Populusque Romanus Vota pro Reditu Cæsaris Solvit. The Day after his Arrival, he admitted Tiberius amongst the Prætorians, and granted to his other Son-in-law, Drusus, the Liberty of standing for Offices sive Years before the legal Time.

Pl. IX. 11.

Avgverve.

Many Honours were offered to Augustus on his Arrival; none of which he would admit of, fave that he permitted the Day of his Return to be ranked as a Festival in the Kalendar, and called the Augustalia, and an Altar to be erected to Returning Fortune, which we have upon a Coin struck by Q. Rustius, inscribed FOR. RE. Fortune Reduci: on the other Side are the Figures of two Fortunes, one being intended for the Fortuna Redux, and the other for the Fortune of Antium, according to the Legend FORTVNÆ ANTIATi. The Title is CAESARI AVGVSTO; underneath EX S. C. The City of Antium was famous for its superb

Pl. IX. 12.

Temple erected to this fickle Goddess; whence Horace, in that fine Ode inscribed to her on the late intended Invasion of Britain by Augustus,

O Diva gratum quæ regis Antium, Præsens vel imo tollere de gradu Mortale corpus, vel superbos Vertere funeribus triumphos, &c.

Goddess, whom Antium, beauteous Town, obeys,
Whose various Will with instant Pow'r can raise
Frail Mortals from the Depths of cold Despair,
Or change proud Triumphs to the suneral Tear, &c. Francis.

Augustus now gave another Instance of his Impartiality, by appointing Q. Lucretius Vespillo to the Consulate. For he had been of the Number of the Profcribed, and concealed with Difficulty by the Affection of his Wife, till his Peace was made. His Denarius has reached us, having on one Side the Lactarian Column between two Goats. Pillar stood in the Olitory or Green-market, and was fo called, because thither the good Women carried their young Children to be fed with Milk. At the Bottom is Q. LVCRET. Q. F. and on the Margin VESPILLO: on the other Side is the Juno Silpita, of whom we have spoken sufficiently before, with the Letters I. S. M. R. By this Coin, it should seem that Vespillo's Family came from Lanuvium, where the Juno Sispita was particularly worshipped

Pl. IX. 13.

Avgvstvs.

worshipped; or, that he stamped the Image of this great Goddess of the Women, (Juno the Preserver, as the Name implies) by Way of Gratitude for his own Safety by the Sex. With respect to the Letters, Goltzius ingenuously confesses that he can make nothing of them; and yet it is scarce possible to mistake their Meaning, which Patin has given in the Thorian Family, and which is IVNO SISPITA MAXIMA REGINA: by which Title she is always distinguished by Virgil.

Nec Saturnius bæc oculis pater aspicit æquis. Æneid. IV. 1. 371.

Nor mightiest Juno this, who reigns on high,

Nor Father Jove, can view with placid Eye.

Mastat sacra ferens. Æneid. VIII. 1. 84.

To Thee the solemn Sacrifice he pays,

Most mighty Juno.

oil'il

_____, ter maxima Juno

Continuit. Æneid X. 1. 685.

Most mighty Juno thrice restrained.

This Year died the most excellent Poet, whom we have just now quoted, at Brundusium. He lest behind him great Wealth, though by no Means equal to the Merit of his Genius, which he bequeathed in Part to his Patrons Augustus and Mecanas.

As Vice and Immorality prevailed, the Emperor

was prevailed upon to accept of the Office of Prafeetus Morum, or Governor of Morals, with Censorian Power, for five Years. It was also decreed. that he should enjoy the Consular Authority for Life, have twelve Fasces borne before him, and sit always in a Curule Chair between the two Confuls? Agrippa was at this Time feetling Affairs in Gaul; which Province was infested by the Germans, who thought proper to retire on his Approach. Thence he passed into Spain, where the Cantabrians, the Inhabitants of Biscay, were once more in Arms; and it was not without great Difficulty that he brought that brave People under Subjection. his Return to Rome, he carried his Success with his usual Moderation, cascribing the Whole to the Auspices of Augustus, and refusing a Triumph. He then set himself to his old Employment of decorating the City with magnificent Temples and Aquæducts. But L. Cornelius Balbus accepted the Triumph allowed him for his Success in Africa, having carried the Roman Arms to the River Niger. He was a Spaniard by Nation, and the first Foreigner that ever arrived at the Honour of a Roman Triumph. And it feems to have been permitted by Augustus, as another Instance of his Impartiality, and to shew the Public his Determination to reward Merit wherefoever he should find it.

The next Year, as his Decennial Term of Empire was near its Expiration, he prolonged his Imperial Authority for five Years further; conferring also the Tribunitial Power upon Agrippa for the same Term, which, he said, would be sufficient for them both. This new Power of Agrippa, which was nothing less than Imperial, is recorded on the Coin before us. THe passed many wife Laws, for the Discouragement of Celibacy, the Promotion of Marriage, and rewarding those who should be the Fathers of many Children; for the Suppression of Bribery, and the Punishment of those who had obtained Magistracies by corrupt Means, disqualifying them for the Space of five Years. He purged the Senate, reducing the Number to fix hundred; and reformed the Sybilline Books, destroying all, except such as, upon the strictest Examination, were fupposed to be genuine.

In the Year of the City DCCXXXVI, when Furnius and Silanus were Confuls, Julia bore and other Son to Agrippa, who was named Lucius, and whom, together with his Brother Caius, Augustus immediately adopted. About this Time the Secular Games were exhibited for three Days and Nights together. Horace was worthily made Choice of to compose the Hymn which was sung on this Occasion, which is yet extant, and is one of the finest

Pl. IX. 14.

Remains

Remains of Antiquity. For a full Explanation of the Whole, the Reader is referred to the Notes in Mr. Francis's Edition of this Author. Fifteen Officers were appointed for the Regulation of these Games: and the present Celebration of them is recorded in Medals both of Gold and Silver. These bear the Emperor's Head, with the Inscription AVGVSTVS TR. POT. VII. The Reverse shews a Pedestal, inscribed IMP. CAES, AVG. LVD. SAEC. Next the Verge is the Name of him who struck the Coin, L. MESCINIVS RVFVS III. VIR. who appears also, by the XV S. F. to have been one of the XV. VIRi Sacris Faciendis.

Under Pretence of quieting some Commotions in Gaul, Augustus left Rome, having appointed Taurus to govern it in his Absence. For Mecanas was now less gracious with him, whose Wife he had ungratefully taken away, and carried with him. TIBERIUS also went with him, but AGRIPPA he had fent into Syria. The Sicambri, Uhtetæ, and Tenchteri, after crucifying some Romans, whom they had apprehended in their Territory, had passed the Rhine, and committed some Depredations in the Gallic Province, had routed a Body of Horse sent against them, and afterwards defeated Lollius, who commanded the Forces there. But hearing that Augustus was coming against them, they retired,

Pl. IX. 15.

and accepted Conditions of Peace, giving Hostages

for the Performance. Thus, though there was nothing left for him to do, yet Augustus continued here all this and the following Year. Meantime the Rhatians, who inhabited the Trentine Alps, were guilty of feveral Devastations in the Confines of both Italy and Gaul. Drusus was therefore ordered to march lagainst them. Henobtained a Victory, and was on that Account admitted to Prætorian Honours ... Thus repulsed on the Side of Italy, they yet continued troublesome on that of PLENTS. Gaul, where they were joined by the Vindelici, fo that TIBERIUS walfor was dispatched against them.

Being now attacked in feveral Places, they were

eafily defeated and reduced on As the Country was very populous, their young Men, in order to prevent future Disturbances, were carried off by the Conquerors, only fufficient Numbers being left to till the Ground in Atothis Time feveral Colonies

were fettled both in Gaul and Spain, and two Cities

built ain the Countries lately conquered, the one called Drusomagus, now Meminghen, and the other Augusta Vindelicorum, which is the modern Augsburgh. This dast City we find represented upon

AVGVSTVS.

F. K. T.

Pl. IX. 16.

Coins by the Figure of the Nux Pinea, or Pine-Apple. Thus we fee it ison after on one of the Golden Goltz. p. 216. Medals of the Emperor, which on its Reverse bears

Vol. I.

Nn

the

AvgvsTvs.

Pl. IX: 17. Goltz. p. 216. f. 3.

Pt. IX. 18.

the Name of Sempronius Gracchus, who was his Lieutenant there with Proconsular Authority. And on the Reverse of another, of the subsequent Year, we see Germania seated, with her Head towered, a Cornucopiæ in her lest Hand, and holding out the Pine-Apple with the other.

It was the Year of the City DCCXL, when

TIBERIUS was advanced to the Consulate, and Augustus returned to Rome. The Success of the former is celebrated in his Denarius by the Representation of an Eagle and two Ensigns, with TI. CLAVDI. TI. F. NERO. On the other Side is the laureate Head of Jupiter, with EX. S. C. His Brother Drusus had been left in Germany. All the Honours proposed for the Emperor on his Arrival were rejected; and to avoid Ceremony, he entered by Night. M. Lepidus dying this Year, Augustus succeeded to the highest Priesthood. Hence the Coin before us, with his laureate Head, and the Title CAESAR PONTifex MAXimus.

Pt. X. 19.

On the Reverse, two Victories standing upon Columns, on each Side an Altar, and holding out Crowns of Laurel. The Face of the Altar is decorated with a Civic Crown between two Branches of Laurel, and with two Wreaths of the same, and two other Wreaths of Laurel are laid upon the Topof it; underneath, ROMæ ET AVGusto. Another, which





Pl. X. 2.

which is of Gold, has this added to his other Titles. Around the Head the Inscription runs IMPeratori CAESARI. AVGVSTO. COS. XI. TRibunitia. POTestate XI. S. P. Q. R. The Reverse exhibits a Shield, with two Haste pure, a Simpulum, and the Lituus, with the Legend AVGVRI PONTisci MAXimo IMPeratori XI. Patri Patriæ. A third has a Victory binding a Wreath upon his Head, with CAESAR AVGVST. PONT. MAX. TRIBVNIC. POT. The Reverse S. G. surrounded by the Name of the Triumvir Monetalis, M. MAECILIVS TVLLVS III. VIR. A. A. A. F. F.

Pl. X. 3.

AGRIPPA now returning from Syria, Augustus prolonged to him the Tribunitial Power for other five Years, as he did the Imperial Authority to himself for the same Term. This done, Agrippa was dispatched into Illyricum, against the Pannonians, who had taken Arms, and whom he quickly reduced to Order. This was the last Service which he performed: for soon after his Return, in the sollowing Year, he died, and was buried in the Sepulchre which Augustus had erected for his own Family. On his Departure, the Pannonians again took Arms, so that it became necessary to send Tiberius against them, whom Augustus had now taken for his Assistant in the Government, having given him his Daughter Julia to Wife, the Widow

Avovstvs. of AGRIPPA. He, with the Help of the Scordifci, effectually subdued and disarmed the Enemy, carrying of their young Men, whom he fold for Slaves. A Triumph was offered him; but, by the Direction of the Emperor, he contented himself with the Triumphal Ornaments. All this while Drusus was equally fuccessful. A Disturbance had happened in Gaul, on Account of the Census then taken, which he quieted with great Prudence and Discretion. He then turned his Arms against the Sicambri, Ufipeta, Tencteri, and Camavi, and carried them even to the Banks of the Weser, defeating their united Forces in feveral Battles with great Slaughter. He was therefore faluted Imperator by the Army, raifed a Trophy, built feveral Forts in the Country, and opened that immense Work, which is called after him the Fosse Drusiane. For these Successes he was, on his Return, honoured with Triumphal Ornaments, and the Office of Prætor, after which it was decreed, that he should be immediately invested with Proconsular Authority. In the mean Time died, to the great Concern of the Emperor, and of all Rome, his Sifter OCTAVIA, who, for her many Virtues and excellent Qualities, had been univerfally esteemed and beloved. Suetonius informs us, that when OCTAvius and AGRIPPA were at Apollonia together (and that

Pl. X. 4.

that was at the Time of the Dictator's Death) they took it into their Heads to confult the Mathematician Theogenes concerning their future Fortune; that AGRIPPA, who made the first Application, having great and almost incredible Things foretold for him, Octavius for a long while refused to declare the Time of his Nativity, apprehending that he had nothing to expect which could come near to the good Fortune of AGRIPPA. But being at length with much Difficulty persuaded, the Astrologer presently ran to him, and adored him. Hence he grew to have such Confidence in his supposed Destiny, as to boast publicly of his Horoscope, and to strike a Silver Coin, with the Figure of the Sign Capricorn, under which he was born. Torrentius upon the Place fays, that he had several of them. I will therefore affirm, that many of this Sort were struck, both in Gold, Silver, and Copper. Those of Gold have the Emperor's Head, with his Titles, AVGVSTVS. PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. XIII. COS. XI. On the Reverse is the Sign Capricorn, with a Globe, Plough, and Cornucopiæ, and a Continuation of his Titles, AVGVR. IMP. XII. P. P. These Figures intimate, that his Administration had given Plenty and Felicity to the World. There is a Silver Denarius of the same, but no Infcription round the Head, and only at the Bottom

Avgvstvs.

Pl. X. 5.

Pl. X. 6.

Pl. X. 7.

of the Reverse AVGVSTVS. That of Copper has the Capricorn and Cornucopiæ only, and at the Bottom as the other. After this, the very bold Behaviour of young Octavius, for the first two or three Years after his Uncle's Decease, is the less to be wondered at.

The High-Priesthood of Jupiter, or the Office of Flamen Dialis, had been intermitted from the Time of the Civil War between the Factions of Marius and Sulla, Cornelius Merula having been the last who bore it. Augustus now thought fit to restore it, and advanced Himself to that Dignity.

The Dacians, now passing the Danube on the Ice, plundered Pannonia, and the Dalmatians rebelled on Account of their heavy Taxes. The Emperor, who was then in the Neighbourhood of Lyons, sent Tiberius against them, who was attended with speedy Success; while Drusus went on with his Conquests in Germany. We have a Coin struck for the Victories of the former, who also was allowed an Ovation. On one Side is the laureate Head of CAESAR AVGVSTVS: on the other a Trophy, with two Captives at the Foot of it; underneath, TI. NERO. TI. F. PRO. COS. At the Close of the Winter all three returned to Rome, where Drusus was honoured with the Consulate. Soon after his Entrance into it, he repaired to his

Scene

Pl. X. 8.

Scene of Action once more, and pushed his Conquests as far as the Elbe, on the Banks of which he raifed a Trophy; but in the same Summer he had the Misfortune to fall with his Horse, which crushed and broke his Leg. This brought on a Disorder which carried him off. His Remains were conveyed to Rome, and his Funeral Oration spoken by TIBERFUS in the Forum, and by the Emperor in the Flaminian Circus. Several Honours were decreed to the deceased, as the Title of Germanicus to him and his Sons, Statues, Triumphal Arches, and Barrows thrown up on the Banks of the Rhine. Some of his Denarii have reached us, with his laureate Head, and the Inscription NERO CLAV-DIVS DRYSVS GERMANICVS IMP: ; the Reverse bears a Figure representing the Rhine, with the Word RHENVS over it. There is also a Medal of him in Gold, (and a Denarius also of Silver) with the same Head and Inscription, but having on the Reverse a Trophy of Arms, with the Legend DE GERMANIS. By these Representations of him, he appears to have been a very comely Person, and is faid by the Historians to have had the Restoration of the Republican Government very much at Heart:

The next Year Augustus, with pretended Reluctance, accepted the Offer of the Prolongation of AvgvsTvs.

Pl. X. 9.

Pl. X. 10;

his

his Imperial Authority for ten Years more; and this he continued to do at the End of every ten Years, to the Time of his Death. And though succeeding Emperors were not so complaisant as to confess their Obligations to the Senate and People for any fuch Prolongations, not indeed condescending to confult them on that Point; yet we find them constantly, in Imitation of Augustus, celebrating their Decennalia; nor is any Thing more common than the VOTA DECENNALIA upon their Coins, as will appear in many Instances. He now marched at the Head of an Army into Gaul once more, in which Province he took up his Residence himself, but ordered Tiberrus, in his Brother's Place, to command in Germany, to whom all the Nations between the Rhine and the Elbe submitted. After this, he suffered him to return and triumph, and to accept of the Consulate a second Time.

About this Time died Mecanas, the greatest Statesman of his Age, and the sast Friend of Augustus, whom he made his Heir, notwithstanding his late ungrateful Usage of him. He was an excellent Judge of Genius, and the generous Patron of it, to such a Degree, that all great Encouragers of Learning since have been honoured with his Name. Virgil and Horace particularly experienced his Indulgence. The Death of the former has been

already

already noted; that of the latter took Place foon after, and is supposed to have been hastened by the Loss of his dear Friend and Benefactor.

AVGVSTVS.

Some Coins of Silver were struck by Nonius Asprenas, one of the Triumviri Monetales, in Honour of TIBERIUS, having the laureate Head of Health or Safety, with the Word SALVS behind it, on one Side; and on the other, the Altar of the same imaginary Goddess, with a Serpent thereon rising from its Folds, which is the Type of Health, and at the Sides a full Ear of Corn and a Caduceus, the Symbols of Plenty and Felicity: on the Verge Q. NONI. SEX. F. ASPRENAS.; underneath, TI. CLAVD. TI. F. NERO. The new Conful had scarce entered into his Office, before fresh Commotions in Germany called him thither again. But before his Departure he had the Fane of Concord finished, and inscribed in his own Name and that of his Brother Drusus. He also dedicated a Temple erected to the Divinity of his Mother Livia, while she was yet living. She herself was present at the Solemnity, and, while TIBERIUS treated the Senate in the Capitol, gave a separate Entertainment to the Women. We have still the Figure of this Lady upon some Coins, whereon she is depicted as the Representative of Justice: State of the same

Pl. X. 112

Pl. X. 12;

Nothing considerable appears, notwithstanding Vol. I. Oo the

Avgvervs.

the Journey of Tiberius thither, to have been done in Germany this Year. In the next, Augustus, displeased with the petulant and forward Ambition of his Grandsons Casus and Lucius, to which he was willing to give this Check, raised Tiberius to the highest Honours, making him his Partner in the Tribunitial Power for five Years, and giving him the Government of Armenia. But this displeased all three. The young Princes took Umbrage at this extraordinary Preferment of their Uncle. And he, fearing the Effects of their Resentment, earneftly entreated Leave, and at length obtained it, to retire to Rhodes, that he might the better attend his Studies. Yet some think that the Lewdness of his Wife Fulia, which he could no longer bear, was the Caufe of this precipitate Resolution. Certain it is, that he left her behind him, and that his Nephews were well pleafed with his Absence.

Augustus now accepted of the Consulate for the twelfth Time, that he might with the more Solemnity present his Grandson Caius with the Toga Virilis, or Manly Gown. He was also admitted into the Pontifical College and the Senate House; was allowed a Seat amongst the Senators at the public Entertainments, and designed or nominated Prince of the Roman Youth; on which last Account he was to command the young Gentlemen of Rank.

and Quality, during their public Exercises at the Ludus Trojæ, or Trojan Sport, wearing a scarlet Robe. This Honour we shall find hereaster frequently commemorated on the public Coins, and always annexed to the Sons of the Emperors, or Persons of the most distinguished Rank.

It should seem as if Julia, the Emperor's Daughter, had waited for the Absence of her Husband. that she might throw off all Restraint. For now, even the Forum and the Rostra were become the nightly Scenes of her abandoned Licentiousness; so that it was impossible that her loose Behaviour should any longer be concealed from the Emperor. But when he came to the full Knowledge of it, his Rage was ungovernable, and his Grief to be truly pitied. He turned her out of the Palace, and, without Reserve or Discretion, laid open the Dishonours of his Family in full Senate. She is indeed faid to have been Every Man's Wife, and was, on due Consideration, banished by her Father to the Island of Pandataria, on the Coast of Campania, whither she was voluntarily attended by her Mother Scribonia. Her Gallants were called to a fevere Account. Iulus Antonius, the Son of the late Triumvir, and some others, suffered Death on this Occasion; and several were sent into Exile. Phabe, her Confidante, and the Assistant of her 002 Debaucheries,

AVGVSTVS.

AvgvsTvs.

Pl. X. 13.

Debaucheries, to avoid the Torture, put an End to her own Life; and Augustus declared, that he would rather have been the Father of Phabe than of Julia. Eneas Vicus has given us likewise the Portrait of this Lady.—I find no Coins of the Emperor, struck in Rome this Year, but what are of Copper. These have, as usual, his Head on one Side, and his Titles continued on both; and on the Area of the Reverse S. C.

The Armenians had expelled their King Artabazus, and fet up Tigranes, under the Protection of Phraates, King of Parthia. Messages had passed between this Great King and Augustus, in which the latter had addressed the former by the bare Name of Phraates, which this refenting, returned, by inscribing his Reply as coming from THE KING OF KINGS to CESAR only. These Paper-Altercations were fupposed to be the Prelude to Action. Young Casus was ordered to put himself at the Head of all the Forces in the East, and march into Armenia. But as the Danger came nearer, Phraates grew calmer. An Interview was proposed by him, and accepted, wherein he gave up all Pretenfions to Armenia, and Tranquillity was restored; so that, on the Death of Artabazus, which quickly ensued, his Successor, Tigranes, received his Crown at the Hands of Casus, in Syria. This Expedition is recorded

corded on some Medals of Gold and Silver, which exhibit the young Cæsar on Horseback, with an Eagle and Ensigns, and the Legend Caius CAESAR AVGVSti Filius; the other Side has the Emperor's Head, with AVGVSTVS DIVI F.; and the Success of it is pointed out in a Denarius struck by Turpilianus, the Triumvir Monetalis. On one Side is the Dea Libera, with the Name and Title of that Officer, P. PETRON. TVRPILIAN. III. VIR.; on the other, a Figure in a suppliant Posture, representing Armenia; on the Verge CAESAR DIVI. F. ARMEnia CAPTa.

The next Year Augustus repaired all the Aquæducts of the City. This appears by an Inscription upon that of the Marcian Water, yet extant above the Gate of St. Laurence, in Letters two Feet long:

IMP. CAESAR. DIVI. F. AVGVSTVS
PONTIFEX. MAXIMVS. COS. XII.
TRIBVNIC. POTESTAT. XIX. IMP. XIIII.
RIVOS AQVARVM OMNIVM REFECIT.

In that which followed, which was the DCCLth Year from the Building of the City, and the forty-first of the Reign of Augustus, according to Cassiodorus and Tertullian, IESVS CHRIST, the Saviour of Mankind, was born at Bethlehem, in Judea.

P. Sulpicius Quirinus, who, upon the Death of Lollius.

Avgvstvs.
Pl. X. 14.

lius, became the Governor of CAIUS CASAR, was at this Time Proconful of Syria. A general Assessment or Taxation now took Place throughout the whole Roman Empire. The Temple of Janus was shut up, and there was Peace among all Nations.

Augustus now took upon him the Office of Conful for the thirteenth and last Time. This he did for much the same Reason as before; that he might with greater State and Solemnity deliver the manly Gown to his Grandson Lucius, as he had done to Caius, two years ago. The young Prince received the fame Honours which had been conferred upon his Brother, as is evident from the Medal before us. It bears the Emperor's laureate Head, with CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F. PATER PATRIAE. On the Reverse are depicted the two Shields of Gold, which were prefented, to each of them one, by the Equestrian Order, when these Princes assumed the Toga Virilis, and which, after their Decease, were hung up in the Senate-House: these are sustained by two of the Pontiffs, and between them are two Haftæ puræ, or unarmed Spears, of Silver, presented at the same Time: a little above are the Lituus, and the Haustorium or Sympulum, the Enfigns of the Augural and Pontifical Dignities. The Figure of Ten is only the Mark of the Denarius. The Title fays, Caius

Pl. X. 15.

Avgvstvs.

Pl. X. 16.

Caius Lucius CAESARES AVGVSTI Filii CŌSules DESIGnati PRINCipes IVVENTutis. Medals of Gold were also struck in Honour of the Emperor's Consulate, whereon the Submission of the Parthian is the Subject of the Reverse; the Bow and Quiver being thrown down, and the Tiara or Diadem inclining: in the Area, DE PARTHIS.

In the Medal which we just now described, it is observed, that both CAIVS and Lucius were designed for, or prænominated to, the Fasces. The Elder of them was accordingly advanced to that Honour while he was yet in Syria, in the Year of the City DCCLIII; and the Younger was to succeed to the same Dignity two Years after; but being in the Interval sent by Augustus to review the Forces in Spain, he sell sick by the Way, and died at Marseilles.

Tiberrus, after many Intreaties for Permission, had now returned to Rome, and the Revolt of Armenia to the Parthians, who had entered that Country with an Army, gave fresh Employment to his Nephew Caius. He drew together his Forces, and marched thither likewise. Appearing before Artagera, he was drawn into a Conference near the Walls by the Governor of the Place, who treacherously wounded him with a Dagger. This so incensed the Army, that they immediately stormed

N. X 16

Sword. After this, he expelled the Parthians, and advanced Ariobarzanes to the Throne of that Kingdom. The same Year Augustus renewed his Imperial Authority for another Decennial Term. Meantime the Constitution of Casus seemed to languish from the Wound that he had received, so that being pressed earnestly by the Emperor to come to him, he set forward for Rome, but died on the Return, at Limyra in Lycia.

Thus was Augustus deprived of the two Grandfons in whom he chiefly delighted. So that he was now in a Manner constrained to raise Tiberius to a Participation of his Authority. He therefore admitted him once more to the Tribunitial Power for the Term of ten Years. As he had before been invested with it for Half that Space of Time, this is properly the fixth Year of his Tribunitial Power. And so it is reckoned upon his Medal of Gold, ftruck upon the present Occasion, which bears his Head; with the Vase or Guttus, the Lituus, and the Sympulum on the Reverse, and enumerates all his Titles, TIberius CAESAR AVGVSTI Filius COSul II. TRibunicia POTestate VI. AVGVR. PONtifex IMPERator III. So that from the Conclusion of his last Tribunitial Power to this Time he had lived for four Years at Rhodes and Rome as bearing a private

Pl. X. 17.

a private Person. Augustus in the next Place obliged him to adopt Germanicus, the Son of his late Brother Drusus, even to the Prejudice of his own Son. This done, Himself and M. Agrippa Posthumus, so called because he was born of Julia after the Decease of his Father, were at the same Time adopted by the Emperor. The Succession being thus provided for, he was once more ordered into Germany, where he subdued the

Caninefates, the Cattuarii, the Brueteri, and the Cherusci, passed the Weser, and penetrated into the farther Parts of that Country.

The Palace being now destroyed by Fire, Prefents from all Quarters were offered towards the Re-building of it. But the Emperor would accept no more than a fingle Gold-Coin from any particular Community, nor more than a fingle Denarius from any private Person: each of these Coins of Gold being of the Value of five-andtwenty Denarii. In Return, when it was finished, he declared it open for the public Use. The People were then instant with him for the Recall of his Daughter Julia from Banishment. But he anfwered with Indignation, that Fire and Water should sooner mingle than Julia be restored to her Country. To make this feemingly good, many Fires were kindled, and cast into the Tiber, and Vol. I. their

their Earnestness was such as in the End prevailed upon him so far as to order her Removal to the Continent.

A dangerous Conspiracy against his Life was now discovered, at the Head of which was Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus, the Grandson of POMPEY the Great by his Daughter Pompeia. This, as: many Persons of Eminence were concerned, gave him very uneasy Reflections. As he knew not whom to trust on this trying Occasion, his faithful Mecanas being dead, and TIBERIUS absent, he opened his Concern to his Wife Livra, and after much Deliberation, determined by her Advice to make Use of Lenity. He sent for Cinna, to whom he gave a private Audience, taxed him with his Ingratitude and Perfidy, recounted to thim the feveral Circumstances of the Plot, and the Names of his Accomplices, and when he had done, not only graciously pardoned him, when he expected nothing less than instant Death, but named him Conful for the ensuing Year. Nor did any of the rest suffer more than a verbal Castigation. This wrought powerfully. Ginna was from henceforth. inseparably attached to him, and Augustus was free from Conspiracies for ever after. I find that this Cinna was one of the Triumviri Monetales (an Office always conferred on Persons of the highest Rank)

Rank) when the Reparation of the public Ways
was undertaken; having struck a Coin of Silver in
Honour of the Emperor on that Occasion, which

has been already described and the sound of the

At this Time there were tremendous Earthquakes; the Tiber overflowed its Banks, so as to render the City navigable for feven Days together; and a grievous Famine enfued. To alleviate this Affliction, sall Gladiators, and Slaves on Sale were ordered to remove to the Distance of fourscore Miles; the Courts of Law were shut up; the Senators with their Trains were permitted to go whither they pleased; and the Decrees of those who remained were to be valid. Augustus sent off most of his own Servants, appointed Persons of Confular Quality to be Overseers, and settle the Price of Provisions, and distributed Corn himself gratis. And because Conflagrations had been frequent of late, he disposed as many Bodies of Freedmen, each under the Command of an Equestrian Officer, in feven different Parts of the City, by Way of Prevention; an Institution found so useful, that it was judged necessary to continue it.

This Year AGRIPPA POSTHUMUS received the manly Gown, and GERMANICUS was nominated to the Consulate, though he did not succeed to that Dignity till six Years after. This is evident upon

P p 2

a Medal

Avgvstvs.

a Medal of Gold, which bears on one Side the Head of Tiberius, with TI. CAESAR. AVG. F. PON. COS. II. TR. POT. VII. IMP. III.; and on the other, that of Germanicus himself; the Legend of which also acknowledges his Adoption, GERMANICVS CAESAR TI. F. AVG. N. COS. DES.

The following Year TIBERIUS was recalled from Germany (where he had been very fuccessful, and where he left Quintilius Varus at the Head of three Legions) to the Defence of Dalmatia. He had marched to the Elbe, and his Successes had been fuch as conferred upon him the Title of Imperator. for the fourth Time, which is extant upon a Copper Coin, which exhibits him crowned with Laurel, and having this Infcription, TI. CAESAR AVGVS-TI F. IMPERATOR IIII: on the Reverse, PON-TIFEX. TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE VIII. Annual and perpetual Stipends were now appointed for the Legions and Cohorts, and a Fund established for the Payment, called the Military Treasury; the Care of which was committed to three Senators of Prætorian Rank.

M. Valerius Messalinus had marched from Dalmatia, which he governed as Proconsul, to the Assistance of Tiberius in Germany; and the Inhabitants, taking Advantage of his Absence, broke out into open Rebellion, in which they were assisted.

by the Breuci from Pannonia. Their Leader was one Bato, a Person of great Bravery and Resolution. Messalinus was fent back with his Forces in all Haste, and Tiberius followed. The Breuci had laid Siege to Sirmium, which was relieved by Cæcina Severus, the Governor of Mæsia, who, pursuing the Enemy, defeated them at the River Dravus, but not without the Loss of many of his own Soldiers... This did not greatly discourage the Enemy, who had Recourse to their Allies, and still kept the Field. In the mean Time Bato laid Siege to Salone, but was there dangerously wounded by a Stone, and forced to retire. However, he fent off. Detachments, which laid waste the whole Seacoast, as far as Apollonia. They afterwards joined, and fought a Battle with the Romans, and, though, worsted at first, in the End prevailed. Bato was not yet recovered of his Wounds when Messalinus approached with his Army. Notwithstanding which, he refolved to engage him, and was victorious; but afterwards; falling into an Ambush, he was defeated. Then retreating to his Allies in Pannonia. he fortified himself on Mount Almus, where he kept his Ground against Severus and Rhæmetalces, King of Thrace; and, by his fuccessful Incursions into the Country, greatly increased his Forces. Tiberius was now advancing against them with a mighty

Avgvstvs.

mighty Army, and the Winter was approaching. They therefore divided their Forces, and marched by different Routes into Macedonia, making terrible Devastations by the Way. There they were attacked again by Rhæmetalces, and his Son Rascupolis, who cut feveral Thousands of them in Pieces. rest retired to the Mountains and strong Holds, and thence made their Excursions as Opportunities offered. Augustus now, weighing well the Advices which he had from the Army, conceived that TIBERIUS purposely protracted the War. He therefore determined to fend GERMANICUS with such a Supply as should put an End to it at once. To this Purpose new Levies were made; the old difcharged Soldiers were invited to wield their Arms once more, and a Multitude of Freedmen admitted into the Troops, contrary to Custom; for the Apprehensions of the Public were great, the Enemy being numerous, bold, well-disciplined, and near at Hand. The Emperor himself removed to Ariminum, for the greater Convenience of giving his Orders and receiving Intelligence. Although he did not purpose to go farther, it appears that public Vows were made for his Safety and Return, with as much Solemnity as if he had been perfonally engaged in foreign War. The Medal of Gold which confirms this, exhibits his Head, with

the Title AVGVST. PON. MAX. TR. POT. XXX. COS. XIII. IMP. XV. P. P.: a Civic Crown furrounds the Reverse, inclosing the Legend VOT. P. SVSC. PRO SAL. ET. RED. I. O. M. SACR. Vota Publica Suscepta pro Salute et Reditu Jovi Optimo Maximo Sacra.

Pl. X. 19.

AVGVSTVS.

AGRIPPA was now out of Favour with the Emperor. This was the Reason why Germanicus was preferred to the Command of the Army. His Servility of Behaviour; his spending his Time in sishing, and such-like idle Amusements, instead of attending to Business of any Kind; his passionate Disposition, and the abusive Language which he frequently threw out both against Augustus and Livia, had given such Disgust, that his Effects were consistented to the Use of the public Treasury, and himself banished to Planasia, an Island not far distant from Corsica. This Event Tacitus will have to have been forwarded by the Arts of Livia.

When Germanicus arrived in Pannonia, and the Forces were moving from all Quarters to join him, Severus, on his March from Mæsia, for that Purpose, was attacked by the Enemy as he was pitching his Camp, whom at last he deseated. The Romans then divided themselves, and ravaged the Country in many Parts at once. The Mazæans, particularly, were deseated in Battle by Germa-

NICUS,

NICUS, with great Loss, who afterwards took most of their strong Places. TIBERIUS, on the other Side. moving against the Dalmatians, both Nations began to think of Submission. What chiefly induced them to this, was a grievous Famine, followed by very alarming Distempers. When therefore the Dalmatian Bato (for he who commanded the Pannonians was of the same Name) surrendered to TIBERIUS, and was asked by him, What could occasion their Defection from, and continued Rebellion against, the Romans? he gave him an Answer which well deserves the Attention of all Princes: "You yourselves," said he, "were the Cause of it: "who, instead of sending Shepherds and faithful "Dogs to tend your Flocks, fend Wolves to de-" vour them." This War employed fifteen Legions, with an equal Number of Auxiliaries, for three Years together. It is no Wonder then that Medals of Gold were struck on the Conclusion of it, representing the Emperor's laureate Head, with AVGVSTVS DIVI. F.; and having on the Reverse a Victory feated on a Globe; the Legend TR. POT. XXX.

Pl. XI. 1:

The Bato who furrendered was now employed against him of Pannonia, whom he decoyed into an Ambush, defeated, and afterwards slew. The Breuci, incensed hereat, became troublesome again,

but





but were entirely reduced by Plautius Silvanus, who had been left in Dalmatia to extinguish the Reliques of the Rebellion.

For this, the Title of Imperator was given both to Augustus and Tiberius; a Triumph was decreed, and two Triumphal Arches, with Trophies on the Top of them, to be erected in Pannonia. On Germanicus were conferred Triumphal and Prætorian Honours, and that he should give his Opinion in the Senate before the Consulars. Drusus, the Son of Tiberius, had no Concern in the War, yet, to gratify the Father, he was admitted into the Senate, and allowed to give his Opinion, as soon as he should have gone through his present Office of Questor, before those of Prætorian Rank.

Further Provision was now made by Law for the Restraint of Celibacy, and the Encouragement of Marriage, the first being loaded with heavy Fines, if not remedied within the Year, and the last honoured with great Rewards and valuable Privileges.

For some Time, in the conquered Parts of Germany, the Romans had lived peaceably with the Inhabitants, who seemed to have learned their Manners, and forgotten their Loss of Liberty. But the Tyranny and Rapaciousness of their present Vol. I. Q q Governor,

Governor, Quintilius Varus, soon brought them to Recollection. He was of an illustrious Family. and a mild Disposition, but little versed in military Action, and naturally indolent. His ruling Paffion was Avarice. He had been Conful in the Year of the City DCCXL, and four Years after became Proconsul of Syria. When he entered the Province, it was rich, and he was poor; but when he left it, it was poor, and he was rich. Now that he commanded in Germany, he let on Foot the fame Measures which he had practised in Syria; but the Germans were not fo tame. His Exactions were become to them intolerable. Yet they behaved with great Policy and Caution. They referred to him the Decision of all their pretended Disputes and Differences, and, by crying up on every Occasion his Integrity and Justice, Julied him to fleep; so that in the End his own Security was his Ruin. They had even the Address to persuade him to remove from the Rhine farther into the Country, fo that he was now upon the Banks of the Weser, and farther from Assistance. Here they foothed him to fuch a Degree, that he werily believed himself able to hold them in Subjection without Forces. Convinced of this, he even reproved Segestes, a fast Friend of the Romans, and several others, who advised him to be upon his Guard, and . affored

AvgvsTvs.

affured him that hostile Machinations were going forward against him. When several of the Towns and Districts, under Pretence of their own Weakness, the Insolence of the Banditti in such Parts, or the fafe Conveyance of the Tributes, defired that Bodies of Forces might be fent to them, he was so infatuated as freely to fend off Detachments, to the great Weakening of the Army. These Preparations made, News is brought to him of a fudden Revolt and Insurrection in a distant Part of the Country. So had Arminius and Segimer contrived it; for these were the great Leaders, the former being the Son of the latter, and of the prime Nobility of the Country. This young Man had great good Sense and consummate Bravery. He had served amongst the Romans with Applause, and been highly diftinguished by the Emperor. He was therefore little liable to be suspected; and that he might be the less so, was almost continually with the Governor, and in a Manner lived with him. The Natives had been so instructed and disposed by these, that when, in Consequence of the Intelligence given, Varus had begun his March against the Insurgents, all the neighbouring People expressed mighty Concern, and gave him to expect that they would draw together with all possible Expedition, and march after to his Assistance. And they Qq2

they did march after him indeed, but with ino friendly Intention. The Route, which he took by the Advice of his deceitful Guides, lay through Woods, and over craggy Hills and swampy Vales. The Soldiers were greatly fatigued with clearing the Way, when they were suddenly attacked, and many fell. A great Storm of Wind and Rain, happening at the same Time, disordered them still more; for the Ground became so slippery, that they could scarce stand. Other Inconveniences arose from the Inequality of the Place by broken Branches and fallen Trees. They were now furrounded by Enemies, when they pitched their Camp upon a Hill skirted by Woods. Here they fet fire to the greater Part of their Carriages, and, destroying or leaving behind them most of their Baggage, they began a more orderly March the next Day along the open Country; but still not without some Loss. Then they came to Woods again, where they were attacked on all Sides by the Enemy. They now drew themselves up in a Circle, and fo rushed, Horse and Foot promiscuously, upon their Foes, as well as the Narrowness of the Place would give them Leave. Here they fuffered great Loss. The next was a dreadful Day of high Wind and violent Rain, infomuch that they could neither march forward, nor stand firm-

ly, and the Use of their Arms was in a Manner Avovstvs. taken away; fo that the Enemy, who were mostly light-armed, had confiderably the Advantage in these Respects. And by this Time their Numbers too were fo greatly increased, that they entirely furrounded the Romans, and poured in their Weapons upon them with much Facility. In this Distress Varus and the principal Officers, who were wounded, put an End to their own Lives. In this Varus followed the Example of his Father and Grandfather. The rest, on this, gave up all for loft, and either flew themselves, or, throwing away their Arms, offered themselves to the Slaughter. And had not the Germans, feeing that they had conquered all Opposition, ran to plunder the Baggage, not a Roman had been left alive. But by this Accident some of the stoutest escaped; and the Trumpeters, founding a Charge, made the Enemy believe that Relief was come to them from Asprenas, the Nephew of Varus, who had been left to guard the Banks of the Rhine: for it was now dark, and they could distinguish nothing. This prevented all Pursuit, and Asprenas, as soon as he heard of this fatal Affair, did actually march to their Assistance. This was the greatest Loss which the Romans had received fince the Defeat of CRASSUS. For three Legions with their Cavalry,

and fix Cohorts, the very Flower of the Roman.

Troops, were almost entirely cut in Pieces.

When the News of this Difaster reached Rome. Augustus became almost distracted. For several Months he would not suffer the Hair of his Head to be cut, or his Beard to be shaved, and frequently beat his Head against the Door-Posts, crying out, "Give me my Legions, Varus." In the mean Time he did not neglect the public Safety; but appointed a numerous Watch in all Parts of the City; vowed the great Games to Jupiter, in case the Republic should recover a better State; and made extraordinary Levies, obliging all the Youth to enlift. These he sent into Germany with all Speed, under the Command of TIBERIUS, whom GERMANICUS attended. These two, entering Germany, laid the Country waste far and wide, but met with no Opposition. Settling their Troops therefore in the Neighbourhood of the Rhine, they returned to Italy in the Autumn following. This was the thirteenth Year of TIBERIUS'S Tribunitial Power, as appears from the following Coins. first bears his Head laureate, with the Title TI. CAESAR AVGVSTI F. IMPERAT. VII: the Reverse has a Patera and Lituus, with S C. and the Legend TRIB. POT. XIII COS. II. AVGVR PONTIF. The fecond has on one Side the Head

Pl. XL. 2.

Pl. XI. 3.

of

of the Emperor, with IMP. CAESAR AVGVS- Avovstvs. TUS: on the other is TIBERIUS himself, in his quadrigated triumphal Car, with TI. CAESAR AVG. F. TR. POT. For on his Return to Rome he was allowed a Triumph for his late Successes against the Dalmatians and Pannonians. In the next Year Coins were ordered to be struck in Honour of both. Those of the Emperor have his Head plain. The Inscription runs, IMP. CAESARI DIVI F. AV-GVSTO PON. MAX. TR. POT. XXXV: on the Reverse, S. C. COS. XIII PATRI PATRIAE IMP. XX S. P. Q. R. Those of Tiberius also have his Head plain, with TI. CAESAR AVGVS-TI F. TR. POIL XIIII. The Caduceus on the Reverse, with PONTIFEX IMPERATOR VII. intimates a State of Tranquillity at Rome. Year young Drusus, the Son of Tiberius, was Questor, and there were no fewer than sixteen Prætors; for, fo many Candidates offering, Au-GUSTUS was not willing to disoblige any of them by a Refufal.

GERMANICUS had now the Consular Office conferred upon him, which he discharged for fix Months, when he was succeeded by C. Visellius Varro, one of the Triumviri Monetales, of whom we make particular Mention because of the Singularity of his Denarius. On the one Side it has two Gladiators, Pl. XI. 4:

Avgvstvs.

Pl. XI. 5.

Gladiators, armed with Sword and Shield, and in actual Engagement; underneath, C. VISELLIus: on the other, the Goddess Cybele crowned with Turrets, and VARRO III VIR. Dio Cassius observes that at this Time Augustus allowed to those of Equestrian Rank the Liberty of fighting in fingle Combat in the Gladiatorian Shews. This he speaks of as a very extraordinary Permission, and what any one would wonder at; for it had been before declared infamous by a public Edict; yet had the Ignominy been held in Contempt, fo fond were the Equestrians grown of distinguishing themselves in this public Manner. The Emperor therefore, finding them incorrigible, intended this Permission for their Punishment; that, if the Sense of Infamy could not cure them, at least the Apprehensions of present Death might. However they still fought on, and their particular Combats were reforted to with great Eagerness; insomuch that Augustus himself found it necessary to assist the Prætors in Person in the Distribution of the usual Rewards. The more wonderful therefore this Permission, and the immediate Consequences of it, were, the less are we to wonder that Varro should record so extraordinary an Event, by representing two Equestrians in the Act of single Combat on the Coin before us.

Augustus now, bowed down with Years, and Avgvstvs. weak in Voice, by Writing under his Hand recommended GERMANICUS to the Senate, as he did the Senate itself to the Protection of TIBERIUS. He granted to the Equestrians the Power of being elected popular Tribunes, and passed an Edict for the Suppression of infamous Libels and the Punishment of the Authors. The next Year he renewed his Imperatorial Authority, with the usual pretended Reluctance, for another Decennial Term. At the same Time he prolonged the Tribunitial Power to Tiberius, and allowed his Son Drusus to fland for the Consulate within three Years after his Quæstorship, and without going through the Office of Prætor. He made his Will, which he deposited in the Hands of the Vestals; and a Law passed through the Consuls, by which the Government of the Provinces was committed to TIBERIUS jointly with Augustus. Coins were therefore struck, both in Gold and Silver, bearing the Head of Augustus on one Side, and of Tiberius on That of the former is crowned with the other. Laurel, and the Infcription is CAESAR AVGVS-TVS PATER PATRIAE. That of the latter is plain, with TI. CAESAR AVGVSTI F. TR. POT. XV. Another Law passed, that whatsoever Augustus, with his Son Tiberius, and his adopti-VOL. I. Rr tious

Pl. XI. 6.

and fuch others as he should think sit to call to his Counsel, should, after Deliberation, order and direct, the same should be held as valid, to all Intents and Purposes, as if it had been ordered and directed by the Senate in full Session.

In the following Year, which was that of the City DCCLXVI, Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Appuleius being Consuls, Augustus died at Nola in Gampania, of a Diarrhœa, on the Fourteenth of the Calends of September, having lived seventy-five Years ten Months and twenty-fix Days. This was the fifty-fixth Year of his Reign, if we begin the Computation from his first Consulship, but the forty-third from his Victory of Actium, and the thirty-feventh of his Tribunitial Power, as is manifest from the Medal referred to. Tiberius had been some Time in Illyricum, where he was to put himself at the Head of an Army designed against Maroboduus, King of the Marcomanni, who was supposed to have been concerned in the Destruction of Varus and his Army, as he had fent the Head of that Commander to Rome. But before his Departure, or at least before the Death of Augustus, some Coins appear to have been struck in Honour of him, as they bear the Date of this Year, which was the fixteenth of his Tribunitial Power. They

Pl. XI. 7.

are both in Bronze, and of Gold. Those have his Head plain, with the Title TI. CAESAR AVGVS-TI F. TRIB. POT. XVI.: on the Reverse is a Caduceus between two Cornuacopiæ, with S C.; the Legend, PONTIF. COS. II. IMPERAT. VII. These also represent his Head plain, with TI. CAESAR AVGVSTI F. IMP. VII. The facrificial Ax, Lituus, and Tripod, fill the Reverse; around which we read the Titles of which they are fymbolical, AVGVR PONTIF. and underneath TR. POT. XVI.

AVGVSTVS.

Pl. XI. 8.

Pl. XI. 9.

Few People are faid to have mourned in reality at the Death of Augustus; but the Commonwealth had Reason enough to lament the Loss of him afterwards. He had, indeed, attained to the Height of Power by very extraordinary Means. His declared Defign of revenging the Dictator's Death was only a Pretence subservient to his Am-But that Ambition was not a violent bition. Thirst of Conquest, but to make himself the Head of the Republic, which he afterwards wifely circumscribed within proper Limits. Courage he certainly did not want, whatever fome Writers have advanced to the contrary; for his first Attempt not only spoke him fearless, but savoured of Rashness. We have recorded many Instances of his Cruelty in the Course of the Civil War; yet it must be con-

Rr2

fessed,

Avovstvs.

fessed, that the dreadful Proscription seems to have been principally owing to the Violence of Antony, and the Brutality of LEPIDUS. He was amorous, and in the Gratification of that Passion altogether absolute, and regardless of every Connection; yet a severe Reformer of the Manners of others, punishing Incontinence of every Kind with much Impartiality. He was himself learned, and the most generous Patron of learned Men. In his public Works, with which he adorned almost every Part of the City, he was exceedingly magnificent: in his Address very affable and gracious to all, and of great Liberality. His Friends he highly honoured, and took much Pleasure in that Freedom of Speech which they made use of. He was not very vindictive on Account of Injuries which himself received, and paid a strict Regard to his Word, even with the Unworthy. But his great Excellence appeared in the Arts of Government, which he practifed with aftonishing Success. To blend the Imperial Authority with the popular Government, so as to satisfy all Parties, and render them infensible of their Loss of Liberty, must be allowed the Work of a great political Genius. Able Ministers he had, but lived long enough to convince the World that he could proceed without them. For what passed before the Conclusion of the Civil Wars, the Historian obferves,

serves, that great Allowances are to be made, and his Disposition to be gathered chiefly from those Times when he was fole Master of the Commonwealth; when his Rule was fo gentle, as to render the present Form of Administration preserable, in the Opinion of wife Men, to that which had been anciently established. Happy had it been for Rome, could his Successors have been content to pursue the same lenient Measures.—He died in the fame House, and the fame Room, in which his Father had expired before him. His Obsequies were celebrated with excessive Pomp, and an Eagle was let fly from the Summit of the Pile, when his Body was committed to the Flames. He was deified. Flamens were appointed for the Service of his Temple; and the Empress Livia, who now, as directed by the Will of the deceased, took upon her the Names of Julia and Augusta, became his Priestess. As such she appears in the Medal annexed, the Inscription of which is in Part obliterated. She gratified Numerius Atticus, a Senator of Prætorian Rank, with an immense Sum, for having fworn that he faw his Soul conveyed to Heaven, as Proculus had vouched of Romulus heretofore. Temples had been raised to him in his Life-time, in many of the Provinces; which now began to be ftrangely:

Pl. XI, 10,

AvgvsTvs.

strangely multiplied in all Parts of the Roman World.

There are feveral Medallic Testimonies of the

Consecration of Emperors; which the Reader will find exemplified on the present Occasion; as I. The radiated Crown. This for a confiderable Time was peculiar to the Apotheofis, though in the Declenfion of the Empire we find it common to the Living. It had twelve Rays, or Points, equal in Number to the Signs of the Zodiac. In the first of the Medals before us. Augustus is enthroned, with a Tripod before him. 192 In his left Hand he holds the Hasta pura, or unarmed Spear, and in his right a Patera. He is thus crowned, and the Inscription calls him DIVVS AVGVSTVS PA-TER. In the second, his Head is adorned with the fame Emblem of Divinity, and the Inscription is the same. In the third, the Head is the same, though the Inscription be somewhat different. Those Places which were permitted by the Emperors to strike Coins, generally took Care, by fymbolical Figures or Letters, and fometimes both, to distinguish their particular Colony. Hence it is apparent, that the Coin before us, which is of the first Magnitude,

was struck either at Romulea, in Italy, or at Hispalis, the Seville of Spain, which had obtained that Permission of Augustus before; for Seville was

called,

Pl. XI, 12.

Pl. XI. 11.

Pl. XI. 13.

called, according to Pliny, lib. iii. c. 1. the Colonia Romulensis. The Reading therefore is ROMulea or ROMulensis PERMissu DIVI AVGusti: the Reverse has, in Compliment to the now-reigning Emperor Tiberius, the Head of his Mother Livia, diftinguished by her new Names of IVLIA AVGVS-TA, and a Title at this Time conferred upon her, which was that of GENETRIX ORBIS, or Mo-THER OF THE WORLD: underneath is the Globe, and the Crescent above. The above Reading is confirmed by the Inscription of a fine Medallion, where round the Head of Augustus we have at Length PERMISSV CAESARIS AVGUSTI.: the Reverfe has the Words COLONIA PATRICIA inclosed within a Civic Crown: for this Medallion was also struck in Spain, and in the City of Corduba, which was distinguished by the Name of the Colonia Patricia, as Pliny observes in the Book and Chapter of his Natural History before-quoted. II. On the Reverses, an Eagle grasping either the Lightning or the Globe; as on the following, which were restored by TITUS VESPASIAN. The last was also further restored by the Emperors Domitian and III. Temples, Altars, and Sacrifices. Pl. XI. 16, 17, NERVA. Though we find those also raised, and these offered to them, in the Provinces, while they were yet living; as Altars, though no Temple, were particu-

AVGVSTVS.

Pl. XI. 14.

Pl. XI. 15.

larly

Avgvstvs. larly to Augustus, even at Rome, as we have obferved before, and as further appears from his favourite Horace, Epift. lib. ii. 1. l. 15.

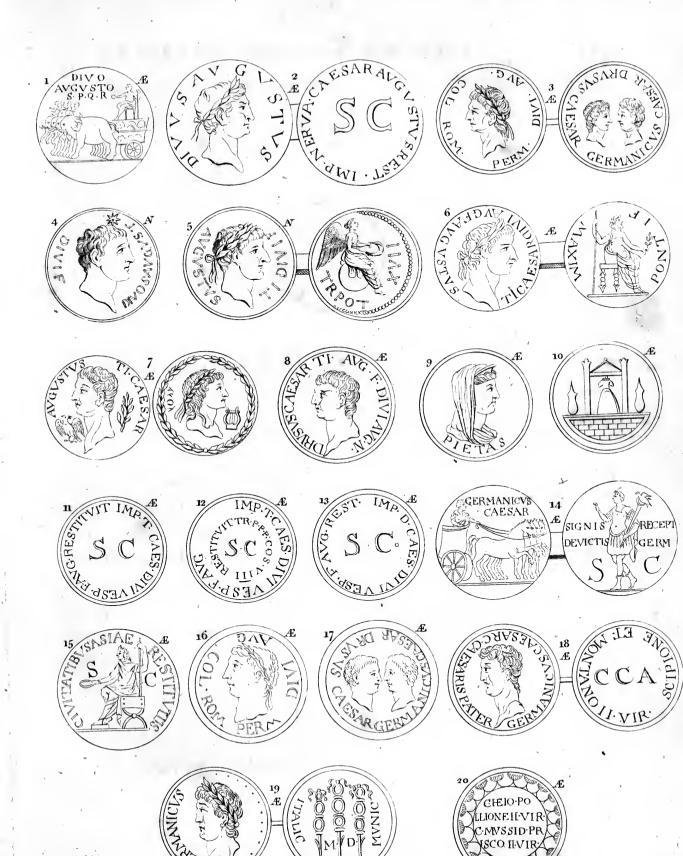
Præsenti tibi maturos largimur honores, Jurandasque tuum per numen ponimus aras, Nil oriturum aliàs, nil ortum tale fatentes.

Yet Rome to Thee her living Honours pays;
By Thee we swear; to Thee our Altars raise,
While we confess, no Prince so great, so wise,
Hath ever ris'n, or shall ever rise.

Francis.

diated

That now before us is not properly the Temple of Augustus, but the Sacrarium, or Sanctuary, raised Pl. XI. 19. in the Palatium, till the other could be erected. Upon the Pedestals, on either Side, are a Steer and a Lamb, the proper Sacrifices. But in one of TIBERIUS's Coins, we have the Temple at large, Pl. XI. 20. crowded with Statues. This can be no other than the Temple erected by him to Augustus. For Suetonius observes, that this, and the Restoration of Pompey's Theatre, were the only Works of the Sort in which he engaged; and these, says the Historian, he left unfinished. Others aver that the Building was finished, but not consecrated till after his Death. IV. The open Car drawn by Elephants, as in the following Reverse, inscribed Pl. XII. t. DIVO AVGVSTO S. P. Q. R. V. The Attribute of DIVVS, whether with or without the ra-



VI



reate Head with the same Title, as in one reflored by the Emperor Nerva, and another struck by the COLonia ROMulensis PERMissu DIVI AVGusti, having on the Reverse the Heads of GERMANICVS CAESAR and DRVSVS CAESAR. VI. And sometimes Stars, as in the Instance before us. These Types of Divinity, found upon Coins, are all enumerated by the Poet Lucan:

Bella pares superis facient Civilia DIVOS: FVLMINIBVS maneis RADIISque ornabit et ASTRIS, Inque Deûm TEMPLIS jurabit Roma per umbras.

Ev'n Gods of Men these Civil Wars shall make Equal to those above, with Lightnings deck, With RADIANT CROWNS and STARS, the Dead; and Rome Shall in their Temples swear in Times to come.

. Locking to the



TIBERIUS. CLAUDIUS DRUSUS NERO.

the second second

TIBERIVS.

A S foon as the Emperor's Recovery was defpaired of, Tiberius was instantly recalled,
Velleius says, by Augustus himself, and came Time
enough to receive his last Embraces. Suetonius is
positive that he spent the whole Day with him, before he expired. However that be, it is certain
that his Decease was kept secret by Tiberius and
Livia, till they had secured the Succession by the
Murder of Agrippa. Presently after, the Consuls,
then the Senate, the Soldiers, and the People, swore
Fidelity to Tiberius, who was now sifty-six Years
old. Yet it was not without strange Flattery, and
the most abject Solicitation on the Part of the Se-

nate, and the deepest Hypocrify and the strongest TIBERIVS. pretended Reluctance on his, that he was at last prevailed upon to accept of the absolute Imperial Authority which had been vested in Augustus. He had before written Letters to the Armies and the Provinces, in the absolute Style of an Emperor, though he forbore the Title; and now that he declared his Acceptance of the Power, neither would he assume that Name, nor, as yet, the other of Augustus, pretending great Moderation. Yet one of his first Acts of Power was the withdrawing the small Pension from his Wife Julia, which her Father had allowed, and forbidding any to converse with her, fo that she actually perished for Want. He was not more favourable to Sempronius Gracchus, who had been one of her Gallants; and for that Reason banished to Cercina, on the Coast of Africa. But not caring openly, and in Person, to order the Execution of one of so high Rank and Quality, he fent private Instructions to Lucius Afprenas, who now governed Africa, to have him speedily dispatched; which was done accordingly.

At the very first Elections after his Accession, he transferred the Power of choosing Magistrates from the People to the Senate; for the former had hitherto shared it with the Emperor. This, however, occasioned no Disturbance. But Things went

not on fo fmoothly with the Armies Abroad. The three Legions in Pannonia looked upon this as a favourable Opportunity to have their Pay increased, and their Time of Service shortened. They refused Obedience to their General, destroyed some of their Officers, rescued their imprisoned Accomplices, and laid the Country waste. To quell this Sedition, the Emperor immediately fent away his Son DRUsus, affisted by Sejanus, his Governor, and by Lentulus, an excellent Officer, at the Head of the Prætorian Guards, and fuch other Troops as were at Hand. On his Arrival in the Camp, he harangued them to little Purpose. For they afterwards fell upon Lentulus, who was faved from their Fury with much Difficulty. But what Authority could not effect, Superstition did. A total and seasonable Eclipse of the Moon filled them with Consternation. They prefently concluded that the Gods had thus expressed their Indignation against them, for their Mutiny and Sedition. The next Day they appeared penitent, and delivered up their Incendiaries, who were put to Death. Thus Quiet was restored, and Drusus returned to Rome, entering the City with an Ovation.

But the Disturbances amongst the Legions, quartered upon the Rhine, which were seven in Number, were more violent and of longer Continuance.

Their Pretentions were much the same. They re- TIBERILY S. quired more Pay, and an earlier Dismission. They demanded the Legacy left them by Augustus, and the Veterans infifted upon an immediate Difcharge and a future Maintenance. The Danger was fo pressing, that GERMANICUS, their Commander, was forced to fend away his Wife AGRIPPINA, then big with Child, and his Son CLAUDIUS, to a Place of Security. Many of them offered to raife him to the Empire, and urged him to accept it with fo much Clamour and Threatening, that he attempted to stab himself, but was prevented by his Friends. With his own Money, and what he could borrow, he doubled the Legacy, in order to purchase Quiet, and complied with their other Demands. At length a Fit of Penitence seized them also, and they gave up those who had fired them to a Revolt. But two Legions, quartered at a considerable Distance, still continued obstinate. Against them GERMANICUS was now preparing to march. But their principal Officers rendered this. unnecessary; for having at last formed a strong Party against the Mutineers, at a Time and on a Signal appointed, they broke fuddenly into their Tents and cut them in Pieces.

At the Commencement of the new Year, Ti-BERIUS honoured his Son Drusus with the Fasces.

TIBERIUS. He now took upon him the Name of Augustus, which appears upon his Coins which were ftruck this Year. His Denarius, having his laureate Head, stiles him TIberius CAESAR DIVI AVGusti Filius AVGVSTVS: the Reverse represents him in a quadrigated Car, in the Act of Triumph, with IMP. VII. TR. POT. XVII. And a fine Medal

Pl. XII. 5.

of Gold, with the same Head, has TI. DIVI F. AVGVSTVS: the Reverse is a Victory seated on a Globe, with TR. POT. XVII also; as we have already seen it on one of the deceased Emperor.

Pl. XII. 6.

We have another Denarius of him, on the Reverse of which he is feated, holding in his Right Hand. the Hasta pura, and in his Left an Olive-Branch; the Legend PONTIFex MAXIMus. Another there

Pl. XII. 7. Patin. Imp. Rom. p. 49. f. 2.

is, with a good Head of him, having an Eagle before, and a Branch of Laurel behind, with TI. CAESAR AVGVSTVS: the Reverse of which shews the Head of Apollo with his Harp, incircled with a Wreath of Laurel: behind it are some characters, which Patin thinks to be Punic, but which, I am perfuaded, were intended for the Greek Name of Apollo; thus, Anox. Nor is it at all furprizing, that this Greek Deity should be stamped upon one of the Coins of Tiberius, fince to his supposed Protection of his Predecessor, at the Battle of Actium, he might judge himself indebted

for the Empire that he held. Those of DRUSUS, TIBERIUS. which were first struck, bear his Head, with the Pl. XII. 8. Inscription, DRVSVS CAESAR TIberii AVGusti Filius DIVI AVGusti Nepos. But it is reckoned very extraordinary and unaccountable by Patin, that we should meet with a Pierry veiled on the Reverse of an impure Debauchee. Yet when we reflect, that he had lately taken upon him to quiet the Disturbances in Pannonia, an Affair of no small Hazard: that he claimed to himself the Merit of having succeeded in that Undertaking, and confidered it as a fignal Act of Piety, as it secured the Safety and Authority of his Father, it will not appear so strange. But this great Antiquarian himfelf, in his Celian Family, has given us a Coin, whereon is impressed a Female Head, with the Inscription PIETAS AVGVSTA. This, fays he, is, by the Generality of those who are conversant in Coins, attributed to the Empress Livia; which is fufficiently countenanced by her Obsequiousness towards Augustus. We may then reasonably suppose that Drusus might, at the same Time that he flattered himself, intend to pay a further Compliment, by representing his Grandmother under this Figure, who was now the Priestess of Au-GUSTUS, and is therefore veiled with strict Propriety. The same Author has one with his Head, COLLINI and:

Pl. XII. 9.

Pl. XII. 110.

TIBERIUS. and DRVSVS CAESAR only; the Reverse of which is the Temple of the Paphian Venus, where it is faid by Pliny and Tacitus, never to rain upon the Altar, though exposed to the open Air, according to Eustathius in Odyss. O. The Image of the Goddess resembled not the human Form, but was a continued Circle, wider at Bottom, and rifing to a Point o' Top. Savil calls this a Cone. But Maximus Tyrius says, that it most resembled a white Pyramid. But by the Figures upon the Coin before us, it feems to have been rather a Cylinder pyramidically pointed. Three others, having his Head, with the full Inscription as above given, were restored, two of them by the Emperor Titus, and the third by his Brother DOMITIAN.

Pl. XII. 11, 12, 13.

> TIBERIUS, in the Beginning of his Reign, (between the Revolt of the Legions already spoken of; the Attempt of Clemens, a Slave of the late AGRIP-PA, who personating his Master, whom he greatly resembled, had collected a considerable Body of Malecontents; and the Designs of Scribonius Libo, a noble Roman, who was privily endeavouring to embroil the State) judged himself in so much Danger, that he would often fay, " he "held a Wolf by the Ears." However, the first being composed, he pretended a very indifferent State of Health, in order to keep Germanicus, whom

whom he was most afraid of, quiet. Clemens was decoyed into his Hands; and, being asked by him, 55 How he came to be Agrippa?" answered, "As "you came to be Cæsar." He was immediately hurried away, and dispatched in a private Part of the Palace. Libo was accused before the Senate, convicted in Part, and afterwards fell upon his own Sword.

The Mutiny being quashed in the Armies upon the Rhine, Germanicus laid a Bridge over that River, passed a Body of his Forces, amounting to two thousand four hundred Horse, and twenty-four thousand Foot, destroyed a Multitude of Germans by Surprize, and plundered the Country for fifty Miles round. This raised against him three several Nations, the Tabantes, the Brueterians, and Usipetes, who fell upon him in his Retreat, but were totally deseated; so that he reached his Quarters with all the Spoil.

Being now informed of the civil Dissensions which slamed out between Arminius and Segestes, before the Winter was well over, he ordered his Lieutenant Cæcina to enter the Country at the Head of thirty thousand Men, while himself with a much larger Army marched towards the Catti, the most formidable of all the German Nations. Great Numbers fell in this Eruption, and all the Vol. I.

plain Country was destroyed with Fire and Sword. At this Time Segester had Recourse to him for Affistance against his Rival Arminius, and obtained it. In the Action which ensued the latter was defeated, and his Wife Thusnildis taken Captive, who being big with Child, was foon after delivered of a Son. Arminius, enraged at his own Defeat, and the Captivity of his beloved Wife, stirred up a general Confederacy against the Romans; so that GERMANICUS found it necessary to divide his Forces. However, they all joined again upon the Amifia or Ems. In this March they had the good Fortune to recover one of the Eagles which had been loft when Varus fell. They now ravaged all the Region between the last-named River and the Luppias or Lyppe, and finding that particular Spot which had been the Scene of that unfortunate Overthrow, with much Decency interred the Bones of the Slain. They attacked Arminius, and gained some Advantage over him; after which, GERMANICUS embarked with one Half of the Army, wearied out with Fatigue, and left Cacina to lead back the rest by Land. As this Lieutenant passed some Marshes, he was attacked by the Enemy in the Middle of his. March, and narrowly escaped the Fate of Varus; the Germans deaving them in the very Extremity of Distress, to sly upon the Spoil. The next Day

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they affailed his Camp: but he, by a well-timed TIERRIVS.

Eruption in the Heat of the Attack, drove them off with great Slaughter, and continued his Route without further Disturbance.

In the mean Time the Forces with GRRMANICUS fuffered greatly. For the Vessels being few, and over-freighted, he was obliged to land one-half of them again. And these marching along the Shore, by the Quickfands, and their Ignorance of the Tides, loft very many Men and all their Baggage. So that the Campaign had not upon the Whole been very favourable to the Romans. The enfuing Winter was spent in extraordinary Preparations. A vast Fleet of Vessels, of different Sizes, was got ready upon the Rhine. Thefe, falling down to the Mouth of the River, took the Legions on board, and failing round to the Ems, there landed them. Thence the Army marched to the Vifurgis or Weser, on the opposite Bank of which the Forces of Arminius were posted. The Romans passed the River in different Places, though not without confiderable Lofs on the Part of their Batavian Auxiliaries. The next Day they attacked the Enemy, gained a compleat Victory, and raifed a Trophy. But the Germans, foon after re-affembling their shattered Troops, assailed them on their March with much Impetuofity and Perseverance,

but were at last deseated again with most horrid Slaughter, the Romans giving no Quarter. On this, the Angrivarii, who had taken Arms, submitted, and Germanicus prepared for his Return to the Rhine, sending some of the Troops by Land, and marching Himself with the rest to the Mouth of the Ems, where he had left the Ships.

The Winds and Seas at first were flattering, but at length so dreadful a Storm arose, as destroyed a great Part of the Fleet, which confifted of a thoufand Vessels of every Kind, and entirely dispersed. the rest. Even they who escaped lost all, having been forced for their own Preservation to cast their Horses, Arms, and Baggage, into the Sea, to lighten their Ships. Some of them were driven as far as Britain, and fent back by the Princes of the Island. GERMANICUS himfelf was fet on Shore in the Country of the Chauci, where he spent many an anxious Hour in looking out for the poor Remains of his. Navy. After some Time a Part of them appeared, but in a wretched Trim. Those which had suffered least he repaired with Expedition, and sent them off in quest of their Companions. Thus a great Part were recovered, though, after all his Care and Pains, the Loss was very great.

The Nation of the Catti, hearing of the Damage sustained, revolted; but were quickly awed into Obedience

Obedience by a confiderable Army fent amongst them. And now Germanicus received Intelligence of another of the Roman Eagles, which had been taken at the Defeat of Varus. This, for the greater Privacy, had been buried, and a Party of Soldiers kept guard upon the Spot. This was in the Territory of the Mars, which he therefore invaded with a large Army, sending off two Detachments; the one to draw off the Party which kept Guard, and the other to secure the Eagle. Every Thing succeeded to his Wish, so that, having ravaged the Country, he returned to his Winter Quarters on the Rhine with great Glory. Here he fully indemnified the Troops out of his own Effects for all the Damage which they had suffered at Sea.

MANICUS, and his Popularity in the Army, ever fince he had cured the mutinous Disposition of it. He was therefore determined to recall him, and, that it might be done with seeming Honour, a Triumph was decreed for him, and a second Confulate. He would gladly have commanded for another Summer, hoping in that Time to have compleated the Reduction of Germany. But the Emperor persisting, he returned to Rome. On the seventh of the Kalends of June, in the Consulship of C. Cælius and L. Pomponius, he triumphed with high

Pl. XII. 14.

high Magnificence over the Cherusci, the Catti, the Angrivarii, and the fest of the German Nations as far as to the River Elbe. This Triumph we have still recorded on some Coins taken Notice of by Patin, and found in the Pembrokian Collection. On one Side the Conqueror is represented in his quadrigated triumphal Car, holding an Eagle in his left Hand, and over him GERMANICVS CAESAR: on the other he stands in a military Habit, and extending his right Hand in a commanding Attitude, supporting another Eagle with his left: in the Area, SIGNIS RECEPTIS DE-VICTIS GERManis. No Wonder that the Recovery of the Eagles should be the Subject of this triumphal Coin, fince Tacitus informs us, that an Arch was erected on this very Account near the Temple of Saturn, and a Temple dedicated (on the same Account the Author presumes) to Fors Fortuna, or Good Fortune, near the Tiber, and in the Gardens which the Dictator had bequeathed to the Roman People.

On the Departure of Germanicus, a Civil War broke out in Germany, between Arminius and Maro-boduus, King of the Suevi and Marcomanni, wherein the former defeated and drove the latter out of the Field; who retired to his other Subjects, the Mar-

comanni,

comanni, and requested Aid of TIBERIUS. In TIBERIUS. Africa, the Numidians and Musulanians took Arms, under the Conduct of Tacfarinas, but were quickly fubdued by Furius Camillus, who commanded there with Proconfular Authority. In Afia, twelve, or, according to Eusebius, thirteen Cities were deftroyed by a dreadful Earthquake, in one Night. The furviving Inhabitants were immediately relieved by the Emperor and the Senate, besides being eased of their Taxes for a Time, and their Cities were restored by the Munificence of Tibe-RIUS, who, on some particular Occasions, was very liberal. This, which was one of the greatest Actions of his Life, is celebrated on a Silver Medal, taken Notice of by Scaliger and Mr. Addison, and is in the Pembrokian Collection. It shews him feated, and holding an Hasta pura in his left Hand, and a Patera in his right, with the Inscription CIVITATIBUS ASIAE RESTITUTIS.

This Year the Poet Ovid died at Tomos, in Pontus, whither he had been exiled by Augustus. His Crime was Curiofity, and his Fate should minister Caution to the Inquisitive. Being well received at Court, he had pryed too narrowly into the Intrigues of it, and seen too much. Himself laments it:

Pl. XII. 15.

Cur aliquid vidi, cur noxia lumina feci?

Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi? Trist. l. iii. Eleg. 9.

Why faw I aught? Why guilty made my Eye? What Folly into others Faults to pry!

The Restlessness of the Parthians, who had expelled their King Vonones, seemed now to threaten the Repose of the East. Some Troubles had also taken Place in the Kingdoms of Cilicia and Commagene, on the Death of their respective Sovereigns, and Cappadocia was newly reduced to a Roman Province, on the Demise of Archelaus, its late King, at Rome. On these Accounts, the Emperor pretended a Necessity for dispatching GERMANICUS, who alone was fit for it, (himself being, as he said, too old, and his Son Drusus too young) into those Parts. In fact, GERMANICUS was too well beloved by the Armies and the People; so that an Occasion was fought of removing him from Rome first, and out of the World afterwards. But as Victims were adorned for the Sacrifice, fo that no Room might be left for Suspicion, he was a second Time appointed to the Consulate, having the Emperor for his Colleague, and the Command of Asia was decreed to him, with an extraordinary Power throughout the Provinces, such as Pompey the Great had formerly enjoyed. But to the particular Government of Syria Cn. Pi/o was commissioned, whose disdainful and unmannerly Preferment; for his rough Disposition was intended as a File wherewith to provoke and sharpen the Spirit of Germanicus, and drive him into Inconveniences. It was hoped too, that the Spirit of his Wise Munatia Plancina, which was high, quick, and exasperating, would have a like Effect upon Agrippina. Piso is thought to have received from Tiberius, and Plancina from Livia, private Instructions for the Prejudice of both.

GERMANICUS, with his Wife Agrippina, and his Son Caius, known afterwards by the Name of CALIGULA, fetting out for his Charge, vifited DRUsus first in Dalmatia, then proceeded to Nicopolis, near Actium, where he entered upon his fecond Confulship, thence to Athens, and so to Rhodes. While he was here, Pi/o, on his Voyage to Syria, was wrecked upon the Coast of the Island, and must have perished, had not GERMANICUS sent Vesfels to his Relief. Yet this had no Effect on his illiberal Spirit; for on their Arrival in Syria, both he and Plancina did all that was possible, by preferring and displacing Officers, by vile and infinuating Speeches scattered amongst them, and by the open Encouragement of Licentiousness, to render the Forces there indisposed and unserviceable to GER-MANICUS.

VOL. I.

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But

But the Prince, affecting Ignorance of these Disorders, proceeded to Armenia, the Crown of which he placed upon the Head of Zeno, the Son of Polemon, King of Pontus. He made Q. Verannius, an Equestrian, the first Roman Governor of Cappadocia. Commagene also being subjected, he preserved Q. Serueius to the Government of it, and it became a Prætorian Province. Having thus settled Affairs on this Side, and being curious in Matters of Antiquity, he spent a Part of the next Year in viewing the several Wonders of Egypt. Returning thence into Syria, he died at Antioch, having been poisoned by the Contrivance of Piso and Plancina; at least this was the Opinion which he entertained of his own Sickness.

Thus fell Germanicus, in the thirty-fourth Year of his Age, exceedingly lamented. The People of Antioch were frantic at the News of his Death; for they cast Stones at the Temples, overturned the Altars, threw their Lares into the Streets, and exposed their own Children, by Way of Vengeance upon the Gods who had permitted it. Even Strangers and Enemies to the Roman Name joined the common Grief. Some Princes cut off their Beards, and shaved the Heads of their Wives on this Occasion, these being their strongest Expressions of Grief. The Parthian Monarch himself, in Token of his Concern,

Concern, abstained from his Hunting for a Time, TIBERIVS. and from the Entertainments of his Nobility. at Rome, the public Mourning would admit of no Confolation, nor could be restrained even by the Imperial Edicts. And indeed this feems to have been the greatest Loss which at that Time they could have fustained; for his Popularity had been a great Curb upon the natural Disposition of TIBE-RIUS, which henceforward broke out into all Manner of Cruelty. He had a fine Person, saving that his Legs were flender; but this Defect was remedied in some Measure by his constant Exercise on Horseback after Meals, the Calves of his Legs being gradually thickened by the Descent of the Blood and alimental Juices in that Position; and the more, as Stirrups were not then in Use. He was brave, learned, and eloquent; of fingular Benevolence and engaging Courtefy to all Men. He married AGRIPPINA, the Daughter of M. AGRIPPA by Julia the Daughter of Augustus, and had by her nine Children, three of whom died before him. Of the Survivors three were Daughters, AGRIPPINA, DRUSILLA, LIVILLA; and three Sons, NERO, DRUSUS, and CAIUS CESAR, afterwards Emperor.

There are very few, if any, Coins (besides that which we have given already) of GERMANICUS, which were not struck in the Provinces, and at some Distance

Pl. XII. 16.

Pl. XII. 17.

TIBERIUS. Distance of Time after his Death. One, which bids fairest for being done in his Life-time, is yet a Colony-coin, and bears on one Side the Heads of GERMANICUS and DRUSUS facing each other; behind the former GERMANICVS CAESAR; behind the latter DRVSVS CAESAR; and on the other Side the laureate Head of TIBERIUS, with a Legend of the Colony, which has been explained on another Occasion. dia wallana lak

> Another Coin, struck at Saragosa, in Spain, styles him the Father of CAIUS CASAR; for it runs GERMANICVS CAESAR Can CAESARIS PA-

- TER: the Reverse has the Names of Scipio and Pl. XII, 18. Montanus, the Duumviri of the Colony at that Time, and in the Area C C A, for Colonia Cafarea Augusta.
- Another of the same Metal was struck at Italica. Pl. XII. 19. now the Sevilla la Veia, in Spain, having his laureate Head, and on the Reverse three Ensigns, with MVNICipium ITALICa, and M D for Mandato Decurionum.
- Another, with his Head and GERMANICVS Pl. XII. 20. CAESAR, bears on the Reverse (inclosed within a Wreath) CHEIO POLLIONE II. VIR C MVSSID. PRISCO II. VIR. What Colony this came from, Patin declares that he cannot conceive. But there is in the Pembrokian Collection a Coin of the first

Size.





Size, of AGRIPPA POSTHUMIUS, which will clear this Point. For this appears upon the Face of it to have been struck at *Corinth*, as it does by the Legend, which fills up the Area of the Reverse in like Manner, and which is inclosed by the same Sort of Wreath, that these two Persons were the Duumviri of that Colony.

Pl. XIII. 1.

Another, struck at Gortyna, in the Island of Crete, and in the Reign of CALIGULA, has on one Side the laureate Head of GERMANICUS, with FEP-MANIKON ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΓΟΡΤΥΝ. Patin has lengthened out this last Word, without and against all Reason, to ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ, though he acknowledges that the latter Part of it is erased upon his Coin. But Vaillant, in his Nummi Græci Imperatorum, p. 9. has the true Reading as above, on one of his own. The other Side bears the laureate Head of the Emperor CALIGULA, with TAION KAISAPA FEPMANIKON ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ. Here the Word σέβεται, or some Word equivalent, is understood. So that the Purport of the Whole is, The City of "Gortyna venerates or " worships GERMANICUS CÆSAR, and CAIUS CÆSÄR "GERMANICUS AUGUSTUS."

Pl. XIII. 2:

The Coin before us of the same Metal, undoubtedly belongs to Germanicus, as it has the very same Figure and Attitude which we see on the Reverse of this Prince's triumphal Coin. He is called

Pl. XIII. 3.

TIBERIUS. on it ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ, or Augustus, in Compliment to his Son Caligula. This too was probably struck at Gortyna, as the Rape of Europa is expressed upon the Reverse, which was the common Signature of that Place, whither Jupiter was supposed to have conveyed her.

Pl. XIII. 4.

Another has his laureate Head, with TEPMANI-KOΣ, the rest of the Inscription being obliterated. The Reverse contains a Female Head veiled and turrited; the Legend ΙΟΥΛΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙ-KAIΩN, i. e. of the Juliensians, who are also the Laodiceans. Patin upon this Occasion says, that the Juliensians, in Conjunction with the Laodiceans, frequently honoured the Roman Emperors on their Coins. But this is wide of the Mark; for the Juliensians and Laodiceans before us were one and the same People. Seleucus Nicator founded several Cities in Asia, as Memorials of his Mother Laodice, one of which was this Laodicea of Syria. The Inhabitants of it called themselves Juliensians as well as Laodiceans, to distinguish themselves from another Laodicea, ΠΡΟC ΛΙΒΑΝΩ, near Libanus, as it is denominated on Coins. Julius Cæsar came hither in the Year of the City DCCVII, after having been detained nine Months in Egypt. He conferred upon the City many Privileges, particularly that of being governed by its own Laws; whence it be-

came what is expressed by the M in the Area of TIBERIUS. the Reverse, Πολις Αυτονομος, a City governed by its own Laws. From that Time, the People called it Julia, and themselves Juliensians, and also Laodiceans, in Honour of the Dictator. They confidered this as the Æra of their Liberty, and began the Computation of their Years from the preceding Autumn: whence this Coin, by the numeral Letters B A P upon it, appears to have been struck in the 112th Year of this Computation, which anfwers to the fourteenth of the Reign of the Emperor NERO. This Reckoning remained with them till the Time of the Emperor SEVERVS, when all the Privileges of a Metropolis, then taken from the City of Antioch for its Disaffection, were bestowed upon this City; from which Period they discontinued this Method of Computation, though the Place still retained the Name of Julia, superadding that of Severiana. This appears by the Inscription of a Coin in the French King's Cabinet, which runs ΙΟΥΛΙας ΛΑΟΔικείας CΕΟΥηριανης ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ, i. e. Juliæ Laodiceæ Severianæ Metropolis. Vide: Vaillant. Numm. Græc. Imperat. p. 96 & 358.

When the Body of GERMANICUS was burned atAntioch, his Heart was found whole. This was generally looked upon as an Argument of Poison.

His Ashes were conveyed to Rome by AGRIPPINA with

with much Solemnity, and deposited in the Sepulchre of Augustus. Piso and Plancina were then accused of having caused his Death. The Emperor behaved on this Occasion with great Subtlety and Dissimulation, being willing to save them, but not daring to avow it, so incensed as the Public was against them. In the Progress of the Trial, Piso became his own Executioner. His Wise escaped the due Punishment, by the Favour of Tiberius and Livia, and the Servility of the Senate. Martina, a most infamous Adept in the Art of Poisoning, and a mighty Favourite with Plancina, had been also sent from Asia, but soon after her Landing was found dead at Brundusum, with Poison concealed in her Hair.

In the mean Time LIVILLA, the Sifter of GERMANICUS and the Wife of DRUSUS, was brought to
bed of two Sons at once. This the Emperor boasted
of as the particular Felicity of his Family. The
Celebration of the Egyptian and Jewish Rites was
now prohibited at Rome; four thousand young Men
of the latter Persuasion were transported to Sardinia, and the rest banished Italy. Tacfarinas, once
more endeavouring to raise Disturbances in Africa,
was deseated by L. Apronius, the Proconsul there,
and driven to the Desarts.

An Ovation had been decreed the Year before,

both to GERMANICUS and DRUSUS, with which the TIBERIVS. latter was now honoured. The next Year he became a fecond Time Conful, and had his Father the Emperor for his Colleague. On this Occasion. the Historian (Dio) observes, that all the Colleagues of Tiberius in the Consulate died a violent Death. Such was the Fate of Quinctilius Varus, Cn. Piso, and GERMANICUS, of DRUSUS by and by, and afterwards of Sejanus. Himself also at last perished in the same Manner. At the End of three Months TIBERIUS abdicated the Fasces, and retired into Campania for the Confirmation, as he gave out, of his Health.

At this Time Sergius Galba, afterwards Emperor, was one of the City Prætors, and at the Celebration of the Games called Floralia, exhibited to the People a new Sort of Entertainment (though it became common enough afterwards) which was that of Elephants dancing the Ropes. Fresh Commotions now arose in Africa, Thrace, and Gaul, which were foon quieted by the Lieutenants in those Parts. In the next Year the Tribunitial Power was conferred on Drusus, at the Request of the Emperor. On this Occasion we have, on a Medal of the first Size, his Head, with the Pl. XIII. 5. Inscription DRVSVS CAESAR TIberii AVGusti Filius DIVI AVGusti Nepos: and on the Reverse, Vol. I. X xthe

TIBERIUS. the Titles of the Emperor, TIberius CAESAR DIVI AVGusti Filius AVGVSTus Pontifex Maximus TRibuniciæ POTestatis XXIIII. with S. C. We

Pl. XIII. 6

Pl. XIII. 7.

find others of the same Size and Metal, struck this Year, with the Figures of SALVS AVGVSTA and IVSTITIA, and the fame Reverses. These two last were probably struck in Honour of Julia Augusta, the Emperor's Mother, who now fell into an ill State of Health, which foon brought her Son again to Rome. For her Recovery the Senate decreed Supplications, and the Celebration of the Great Games. But the Head of this created Deity SALVS is different on this Medal from what I have observed it upon others. For here the Head is plain; which every where else is distinguished by the Laurel Wreath, a Necklace of Pearl, and Pendants to the Ears. Tacitus observes, that the Emperor and his Mother were now either upon; very good Terms, or very artfully concealed their Disgust. For a while ago, Julia, when she erected a Statue to Augustus, not far from the Theatreof MARCELLUS, had, in the Dedication of it, infcribed her own Name before that of TIBERIUS; at which he was judged to have taken great Offence.

The fecond Year of the Tribunitial Power of Drusus being now come, I find another of his Medals

Medals stamped with the Head of PIETY veiled, TIBERIVS. and underneath it PIETAS: the Legend on the Pl. XIII. 8. other Side, DRVSVS CAESAR TIberii AVGVSTI Filius TRibuniciá POTestate ITERum, inclosing the S. C.

All this while the deepest Corruption prevailed at Rome. All the Consulars, a great Part of those of Prætorian Quality, and many of the other Senators, were funk in the most abject Flattery; infomuch that the Emperor himself would frequently exclaim, when he left the House, "O " Men, prepared for Slavery!" Such Corruption, Luxury, Debauchery, and Extravagance of every Kind, reigned in the City, that the Ædiles judged it necessary to move for some restraining Laws; which, however, Tiberius would not hear of: whether he really thought, as he faid, that fuch Laws would render him unpopular, or looked upon these Excesses as the best Security and Support of Tyranny. In the Provinces were fuch Numbers of Cities, with Temples claiming the Privilege of Sanctuary, that Villains of every Kind found it easy to escape the Punishment due to their Demerits. This was generally complained of; and it was judged proper that the Cities, which claimed, should produce their Title to these Privileges. Some, therefore, dropped their Pretenfions. Many depended

upon the Antiquity of their Superstitions, or upon their Services to the Romans. The Ephefians gravely infifted, that their Region, and not Delos, was the very Place where Apollo and Diana were born, and that the Olive-Tree was still standing, against which Latona leaned at that Time. They further pleaded the Patronage and Protection of Bacchus, of Hercules, of the Perhans and Macedonians, and lastly of the Romans themselves. The Magnesians pleaded, that the Temple of their Diana, surnamed Leucophrina, was an inviolable Sanctuary by the particular Grant of L. Scipio, after the Defeat of Antiochus; and of L. Sulla, after the Expulsion of Mithridates. Those of Aphrodisum and Stratonicea produced the Decree of CESAR the Dictator, and another of Augustus, in their Favour. They of Hierocæsarea, in Lydia, went farther back, alledging, "that theirs was the Persian Diana, whose "Temple had been dedicated by Cyrus himself, " and that this Privilege had been granted by " Perperna, Isauricus, and other Generals, not to " their Temple only, but to their Territory also, " for an Extent of two Miles." The Cyprians strove hard for their Paphian Venus, their Amathuhan Venus, and Salaminian Jupiter. Many other Cities were heard by their Deputies, and their Claims afferted with much Earnestness. It appears that

in the End some were admitted, but the moderate TIBERIVS. Use of Sanctuary prescribed even to these; and the Decree made for this Purpose was ordered to be engraven on Plates of Brass, and hung up in their Temples. Suetonius, therefore, is wrong in faying, that TIBERIUS every where abolished this Privilege. The contrary is evident from the following Reverses: the first belongs to a Coin of An- Pl. XIII. 9. TONINUS Pius, and exhibits a female Figure turrited and feated upon a Rock, with the Reprefentative of a River underneath. This is the Genius of the City of Samosate; and the Legend is Φλαβία CAMOCατη ΙΕΡα ΑCΥλός ΑΥΤΟΝΟμός ΜΗΤροπολις ΚΟΜαγηνης: i. e. Flavia Samosate, the Holy, the Asylum, using its own Laws, the Metropolis of Comagene. The fecond also is on a Coin Pl. XIII. 10. of the same Emperor, and has the Genius of the City of Mocha, in Arabia Petræa, standing in a Temple, with the Legend MOKA IEPa ACYLOG AYTOvomos: i. e. Moka, the Holy, the Asylum, using its own Laws. The third, like the first, shews the Genius of a City turrited and feated on a Rock, with a River underneath: the Name is obliterated, but the MHT. IEP. KAI ACYA. is legible enough. The fourth is a Coin of CARACALLA, struck at Damascus: it has a Wreath, inclosing the Word CEBACMIA, which Tristan supposes to signify some

Pl. XIII. 11,

Pl. XIII. 12.

Games

TIBERIUS. Games so called, and instituted there in Honour of the Emperor. The Legend is AAMACKOY IEPAC KAI ACYAOY: i. e. Of Damascus the Holy, and Inviolable. To these many more, boasting the same Privilege, might be added: nor does it appear that it was conferred by succeeding Emperors.

> As the Opportunity offers, it may not be amils in this Place to explain briefly the several Privileges of Cities which we meet with upon ancient Coins.

> - The first is that of being called MHTPOHONIC, the Metropolis or Mother-City, a Title originally accruing from Antiquity or Magnitude. Such was Antioch of Syria declared to be by the Favour of Pompey, when that Country became a Roman Province: but this Dignity was afterwards transferred by Severus to Laodicea. Such was Tarfus of Cilicia, Sardis of Lydia, Nicomedia of Bithynia, &c. Hither Deputies from the other Cities and Towns were obliged to refort, when they were to treat of Matters which concerned the Province in general.

> The Primacy is the next Privilege, and distinct from that of Metropolis. For though many Cities enjoyed both, they were not necessarily connected. Thus, though Nicomedia was the Metropolis of Bithynia, yet Nicæa was the Prime City. This appears from the Legend of a Coin mentioned by Vaillant, NEIKAIEIC HPOTOI THE ENAPXEIAC.

i. e. The Nicæans, the Prime of the Province. How- TIBERIVS. ever, the Nicomedians afterwards contested this Privilege with them, and the Affair came to a Hearing before the Roman Senate, when the Metropolitans feem to have carried their Point; fince from this Time they claim the Primacy on their Coins, which the others have omitted. This is apparent from the following Reverse of one of Domitian's, which fays, NKOMHOW MHTPOHOAIC KAI HPOTH Pl. XIII. 13. BEIOYNIAC: i. e. Nicomedia, the Metropolis and Prime of Bithynia. Cities entitled to this were wont to receive a tributary Acknowledgment (Vide Vaillant, Numism, Imperat. p. 256) from the rest. They were honoured with the Courts of Justice and the Right of Appeal. Thence were Prætors appointed for the other Cities and Towns, and they had the Charge of the public Sacrifices and Games made in Honour of the deified Emperors.

A third Privilege was that of being accounted facred, or IERA. Such as Elea is faid to have been by Polybius, lib. 4; Exempt from all Danger, nor subjected to War: a very precious Privilege indeed! Such were Byblus of Phænicia, Nicopolis founded by Augustus, Nyssa Cythopolis of Caria, &c. if it is again

A fourth was the Privilege of Sanctuary, which gave Occasion to these Remarks.

A fifth

A fifth was that of being ATTONOMOC, or governed by Laws of their own making, of which we have given Instances already.

A fixth, proper to maritime Cities only, was that of being appointed the NAYAPXIC, Navarchis, or Stationary Port for the Provincial Fleet. Such were Ægæ, Nicopolis, and others.

A seventh was that of being EAEYOEPA, a free City. For there was a confiderable deal of Difference, amongst the Greeks, between the Terms ATTONOMOC and EAEYOEPA, though the Latins included both Senses in the Word Libera. Those who were governed by their own Laws, were yet fubject to Impositions and Taxes as well as the rest; but those who had been declared free, were exempt from Tribute of every Kind. Such were Tarfus, Amifus, and other Cities. But in one of Vaillant's Coins, struck at Sebaste, in Cilicia, we have the following Titles, CEBasns ACUAS ATTONOMS NAΥαρχιδος ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑC. So that here we have an Instance of a City inviolable, governed by its own Laws, a naval Station, and at the same Time free.

An eighth Privilege or Honour, claimed by Cities on the Greek Coins, was that of the Neocory.

This was when such City was intrusted with the Care of some particular Temple, and the Games dependent

dependent thereon. Thus the Ephesians, on Account of their famous Temple, are stilled NEOKOPOI.

A Multitude of Instances we have of this Reading; for, besides that the Number of the Heathen Gods was very great, when the Deisscation of the Roman Emperors became fashionable, the Subject Cities strove which should be the forwardest in petitioning for the Honour of erecting Temples to them. For this Permission could not otherwise be obtained than by a Decree of the Senate. Hence it is not un-

common upon Coins, to find the same Privilege granted twice, and even three Times, to the same People, as to the Ephesians, Nicomedians, and Sardians particularly.

Another Distinction, though not a Privilege,

common in the Inscriptions of Greek Coins, was expressed by the Word OMONOIA, fignifying the Confent, Concord, or Alliance of two Cities, sometimes at a great Distance from each other, cemented by mutual Interest. Thus we have OMO-NOIA AΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ CMΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, the Concord or Alliance of the two famous Empories of Athens and Smyrna. Sometimes it is represented by the Figures of the respective Cities, with an Altar between them; as of the Cities of Amisus and Amastris on one of the Coins of Antoninus Pius; and? fometimes by the Figures of the Deities who were principally worshipped in each Place, as of Diana Vol. I. \mathbf{Y}_{i} y. and

Pl. XIII. 14.

TIBERIUS. and Serapis on one of the Coins of the Younger GORDIAN. These are well known to have been the favourite Deities of the two celebrated Marts of Ephesus and Alexandria, and their Concord is here Pl. XIII. 15. expressed by a Term which seems to intimate a closer Connection than usual; for the Reading is ΚΟΙΝΟΝΙΑ ΕΦΕΓΙΩΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ: i. e. The COMMUNITY of the Ephesians Alexandrians, intending a Community of religious Worship.

> These Articles considered; besides the Epochs, Deities, and illustrious Persons of the respective Cities, which have been, and will be, occasionally spoken to as they occur, there remain only, I. The Magistracies and Dignities expressed upon the Greek Coins; and, II. Their Festivals and Games, to be taken Notice of, with their respective Rivers, and the Cities themselves.

> > I. If we take these in Alphabetical Order, the first that we meet with is the

AΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗC, Agonotheta, i. e. He who appointed the Games, or exhibited the Prizes; which last was chosen from among the other Magistrates by Lot. He was distinguished by a particular Seat, a purple Robe, a Crown upon his Head, and a Wand or Sceptre in his Hand.

ANOTHATOC, Proconful, fufficiently explained in the Course of this Work. The Names of these are only to be met with on the Coins of Afia Minor,

Achaia.

Achaia, and the Island of Cyprus, as low down as TIBERIVS. the Reign of Antoninus Pius.

APXIEPETC, Archifacerdos, or High-priest. Where this Title is mentioned, he who bore it was also at that Time the Prætor, or a principal Magistrate of the Place; the Power of striking Coins having been confined to the temporal Office or Authority.

APXON, Archon. Of these there were two, he of chief Regard being distinguished from the other by the numerical Letter A, as APX. A. the first or principal Archon. These Magistrates were annually elected in such Cities, whose Inhabitants were descended from Colonists of the Athenians, or had adopted their Laws. They were capable of being rechosen on the Expiration of their Office, and were then distinguished by the numerical Letters B. T. &c. for secundum, tertio, &c. as being the second or third Time Archon. These are common.

ACIAPXOC, Afiarch. This Officer was elected yearly from amongst the Priests, whose Names were fent in to the General Council of all Asia for that Purpose. He was the Superintendant or Moderator of the general Games at the Time of their Celebration. This too is noticed upon Coins as a Title of Honour; for particularly on two different ones struck in Honour of Faustina the Younger, we have the Name of Ælius Pollio, both with and without the Title of Asiarch.

TIBERIUS. TPAMMATEYC, Scribe or Secretary of the Senate and People, who published all Laws, Statutes, and Decrees, of which he was the Guardian and Interpreter, and whose Name was first mentioned in all Ordinances. This Office was annual too, and if an Archon or Prætor died in his Year, the Name of the Scribe was usually stamped upon the Coin.

> EIIICTATHC, the Prafect or President, as of a Temple or Gymnasium. In the Celebration of the public Games he was next in Dignity to the Agonotheta.

> HΓΕΜΩΝ, Præses. So was the Legate or Lieutenant of the Roman Emperor stiled. This Title is found only upon the Coins which were struck in Thrace, (Bizia excepted) which was a Cæsarean or Imperial (not a Senatorian) Province.

> ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟC, Theologus. These were Professors supposed to be especially versed in divine Things. But this Title is not mentioned upon Coins, unless the Bearer of it was also a principal Magistrate, as is before observed of the High-priest. The same may he faid of the

IEPEYC, or Prieft, and of the

NEΩKOPOC Neocorus, who had the Care of the Temple or the Sacrifices.

ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙCTHC, Panegyrift. He who spoke the Elogies of the Gods or Emperors on all public Occasions. This too was a Title which we find the principal principal Magistrates fond of adding to their TIBERIVS.

ΠΟΛΙΑΡΧΟC, Urbis Præfectus, or Governor of the City. This Officer too was annually chosen, and capable of being re-elected; for which Reason we cannot think it to have been a Title of Honour only. It was peculiar to the Laodiceans of Phrygia.

IPECBETTHC, Legatus, the Lieutenant of the Emperor. These had the Authority of Proconsuls, and the Command of the Legions.

CODICTHC, Saphist. These upon Coins are the Professors of Politics, as a Science, who being commissioned as Deputies or Ambassadors of the State,

were honoured with the Name of Sophists.

CTEΦANHΦOPOC, Stephanephorus, the Crown-Bearer, equivalent to the Title of High-priest: for he was chosen out of the facerdotal Order, and was the Overseer and Director of the religious Rites. His Habit was a Robe of White and Purple, and, whereas every Priest wore a Crown during his Ministration, the Stephanephorus wore it always. On a Coin of Trajanus Decius, we have EΠ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΠΦΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΡΧ. Α. ΤΟ Β. CΤΕΦΑΝΗ. ΜΑΙΩΝΩΝ: i. e. Under Aurelius Apphianus, principal Archon the second Time, the Stephanephorus of the Mæonians. As the temporal Magistrate he struck the

6,

TIBERLYS.

the Coin, and his spiritual Office is noticed by Way of Honour.

Magistrate stiled in many Cities. But this Name is hardly to be met with before the Time of Domitian.

Besides the above, there are a few Readings upon the Greek Coins, mentioned by Vaillant, which are very uncommon: such as

AITHΣAMENOΣ, Postulans; on a Coin in the French King's Cabinet, having on one Side the Heads of Nero and Popp £A facing each other, and on the Reverse, a bearded Figure naked, in the Right Hand an Anchor, in the Left an Hasta pura, with this Legend, ΤΙ: ΒΑΣΣΙΛΑΟΥ ΕΦ. ΑΙΤΗΣΑ-ΜΕΝΟΥ ΟΥΑΛΑΣΕΝΝΑ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΩ ΙΟΥΛΙΕΩΝ ΑΝΚΥΡΑΝΩΝ: i. e. Tito Bassilao Ephesio Postulante Volosennæ Proconsuli Juliensum Ancyranorum.

ΠΡΟΔΙΚΟΣ, Curator; found on three different Medallions; one of Antoninus Pius, in the Cabinet of Christina Queen of Sweden; which represents the Rape of Proserpine, and runs KOINON II. ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΠΡΟΔΙ: ΟΝ. ΚΛ. ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝΟΟ ΑCΙΑΡΧΟΤ. ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΟ ΙΓ. ΠΟΛΕΩΝ: i. e. Commune tredecim urbium Curatore existente Claudio Frontone Asiarcha et Archisacerdote tredecim urbium.

The

The other two are in the Cabinet of his Most Tiberivs. Christian Majesty, for whom they were purchased in Asia by my Author. The first of them has Juno Pronuba in a Temple of fix Columns, the Reading of which differs not from that already spoken of, except in the Contraction of the Words. The last has the Figure of Fortune standing with an Helm and Cornucopiæ, and in the Legend the Word Afarch is omitted.

ΣΥΝΑΡΧΙΑ, Synarchia. This we have on two Coins struck at Antioch in Caria; one with the Head of Livia, with ATTAΛΟΥ ΣΥΝΑΡΧΙΑ, The Synarchy of Attalus; the other with a Victory, and MΥΩΝΟΣ ΣΥΝΑΡΧΙΑ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ, The Synarchy of Myon, of the Antiochians. This last is of the Emperor CLAUDIUS.

ΥΠΑΤΟΣ, Conful. A fingular Title on a Greek Coin, and fuch as one would expect to proceed from the Neighbourhood of Rome. It was accordingly conferred by Way of Compliment on Augustus by the Inhabitants of Plusia in Sicily, who, to commemorate the Event, struck Coins with the plain Head of the Emperor, and the Inscription KAISAP ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΥΠΑΤΟΣ, CÆSAR AUGUSTUS Consul of Plusia.

EΞΟΥΣΙΑΝ ΕΧΩΝ ΥΠΑΤΟΡΑ, Having Confular Power. This is found upon a Medallion of CARA-1

CALLA.

CALLA, in the Great Duke's Collection. The Emperor is represented in his military Habit, Standing, holding a Patera over the Altar, and a military Enfign on each Side: the Inscription EIII Ezeriay EXONTOS ΥΠΑΤΟΡα ΑΥΡηλίε ΑΝΤΩΝίνε ΕΥΤΥΧΟΥС CMΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ Γ. ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ: Under Aurelius Antoninus Eutyches having Confular Power, of the Smyrneans thrice Neocorians. In like Manner we have upon a Coin of Nero, ANOTHATOpa ΠΡΑΤΤΩΝΤΟΣ, Holding the Proconsular Authority. But a great Multitude of Greek Coins there are which mention only the Name of the Magistrate, and of the City or People; as, Agrippa of the Nicopolitans, Artemas of the Apameans, and the like; without expressing any. Thing of the Magistracy or Dignity which he bore.

II. Let us proceed now to the Festivals and Games mentioned on Greek Coins. These are,

AKTIA, The Actian Games, instituted in Honour of Apollo, who had an ancient Temple at Actium in Epirus, where Augustus obtained his naval Victory over Antony; after which, he built a new Temple to his supposed Protector, as well as the City of Nicopolis, to perpetuate his Success, and took Care to have these Games celebrated every five Years with unusual Magnificence. The Sports were of three Kinds, Gymnic, Equestrian, and Naval:

They were not confined to the Place from which they took their Name, but were also in Use with other Cities, who were fond of the same Entertainments, or took them up at first in Flattery of Augustus, as Ancyra, Thessalonica, Pergamus, and Perinthus. But as Pergamus was no Sea-Port, the Inhabitants substituted a Musical Contest instead of the Naval; and, not content with the Aetian, adopted also the Olympian Games. So the Perinthians likewise not only assumed to themselves these, but the Pythian too, as the Nicaeans did the Ishmian and Pythian.

AAEXANAPEIA, Alexandrian Games, instituted in Honour of Alexander the Great. Near Clazomenæ was a Grove consecrated to this Hero, where the Community of Ionia established these General Games, which seem to have been Gymnic and Musical. They were adopted by the Inhabitants of Byzantium, of Odessus in Mæssa, and Philippopolis in Thrace, &c. They are denoted on the Coins of the first by a Table, on which are two Urns; on those of the second by a single Urn and Palm-Branch; on those of the last by a Table, with an Urn upon it, containing four Apples, and beneath the Table a Vessel and Palm-Branch.

ANTΩNEINIANA. These were instituted by the Vol. I. Zz Nicomedians

TIBERIUS. Nicomedians in Honour of ELAGABALUS, who took upon him the Name of Antoninus, and are denoted on their Coins by an Urn and two Palms: they were also in Practice with the Byzantines, and are represented by them in the same Manner, but fometimes with the Addition of a Vase underneath.

> ΑΣΚΛΗΠΕΙΑ, Asclepia. Celebrated by the Epidaurians in Honour of Æsculapius. They were afterwards transferred to Pergamus and Ancyra, and are denoted by an Urn and Palm.

> ATTAAEIA, Attalea. In Honour of Attalus King of Pergamus. Instituted by the Aphrodisians of Lydia, who are mentioned by Tacitus, Ann. 1. iii. c. 62. That King had conferred many Favours upon them, and they in Gratitude made this Return to his Memory.

> AΥΓΟΥΣΤΕΙΑ, Augustea. In Honour of Augus-TUS. Celebrated at Pergamus, at Perga in Pamphilia, Nice, &c.

> ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΕΙΑ, Gordianea. Instituted by the Aphrodifians above spoken of, in Honour of the younger Gordian.

> AHMHTPIA, Demetria, in Honour of CERES, called by the Greeks AHMHTHP.

> ЕПІNІКІА, Vietricia, commemorating some important Victory.

> > ΕΦΕΣΕΙΑ,

EΦΕΣΕΙΑ, Ephehan Games, in Honour of DIANA. HAIA, Solar Games, in Honour of Apollo, or the Sun.

TIBERIUS.

ΘΕΟΓΑΜΙΑ, Theogamia. Festivals whereon were celebrated the Nuptials of Pluto and Proserpine, or, according to Spanheim from Hesychius, of Jupi-TER and Juno.

IΣΘΜΙΑ, Istomia. So called from the Istomus of Corinth, where the Games were celebrated every three Years for nine Days together. They were dedicated to Neptune in Honour of Melicerta. The Contests were those of the Chariot-Race, of the Pancratium or Athletic Kind, of Music and Poetry. These, however, were not confined to the Isthmus; fince we observe them joined with the Pythian, and celebrated at Ancyra in Galatia, and at Nice in Bithynia, as appears upon the Coins of CARACALLA and VALERIAN.

KABEIPIA, Cabiria. Festivals instituted in Honour of the Gods, called Cabiri.

ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑ, Cæsarea Augusta. Celebrated originally in Honour of Augustus. Games are expressed upon the Coins by an Urn and Palm-Branch, as in the following, struck by the Pl. XIII. 16. Metropolitans.

KAΠΕΤΩΛΙΑ, Capitolina. In Honour of Jupiter Capitolinus, to whose Honour were raised Temples Z z 2 and

and Festivals in most of the Provinces, in Flattery to the Imperial City.

KOINA ASIAS, Communia Asia. The General Games of Asia, celebrated by Turns at Smyrna, Ephesus, Pergamus, Sardis, and Philadelphia, at the joint Expence of the whole Proconsular Province. The Asiarch presided, and the Victors were crowned with an oaken Garland.

KOMOΔΕΙΑ, Commodiana. In Honour of the Emperor Commodus.

OATMIIA, Olympic Games, instituted by Hercules in Honour of Jupiter, and celebrated at Olympia in Elis every fifth Year, by the Cæstus, by Running, Leaping, Throwing, Wrestling. They continued for four Days anciently, but in the Time of Nero a fifth Day, with Musical and Theatrical Entertainments, was added. The Prize was an Olive Crown.

AHTΩEIA, Latonia, in Honour of Latona, the Mother of Apollo and Diana.

Destruction of the Serpent Python by the Arrows of Apollo. They were celebrated every fifth Year, and were Poetical, Musical, Equestrian, and Scenic. The Wreath was of Laurel, as we see by the Branches of it in the Urn before us upon one of Caracalla's Coins: but to this were added Apples from the Temple

Pl. XIII. 17.

Temple of Apollo, and Vessels of Gold and Silver. Tiberivs. These Games are very frequently joined with others upon Coins. Thus we have the Actia Pythia, the Isthmia Pythia, the Latonia Pythia, the Alexandria Pythia, and the Asclepia Soteria Isthmia Pythia, &c.

ΣΕΒΑΣΜΙΑ, Augustalia. Instituted in Honour of Augustus, and probably in Imitation of those which himself appointed at Astium. These are also called ΑΥΓΟΥСΤΕΙΑ and ΚΑΙCAPEA CEBACTA, already taken Notice of.

ΣΕΥΗΡΙΑ, Severiana. In Honour of the Emperor Septimius Severus.

ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΑ, Philadelphia. Games afcribed chiefly by the Perinthians, Niceans, and Sardians to the Honour of the two Brothers Caracalla and Geta. This was done in the Life-time of, and in Compliment to, their Father the old Emperor Septimius Severus, and to excite a brotherly Affection in the Breasts of the two young Cæsars; but very ineffectually.

XPΥΣΑΝΘΕΙΝΑ, Chrysanthina, so called because the Victors were honoured with Crowns composed of Flowers of Gold. They were Quinquennial, like the Pythian, commencing with the Return of every fifth Year, and were peculiar to the Sardians.

Next, the Representation of Rivers upon the Greek Coins is very frequent. Some of those, which are not named, have been already in the Course of this Work taken Notice of, as will more hereafter. At present our Concern is with those only whose Names are expressed upon the Coins.

BIAAAIOC, Billeus, a River of Bithynia, reprefented under the Figure of a beardless Youth, as being not navigable for Vessels of any Size, on a Coin of Antoninus Pius. The Sardo, a Rivulet of the same Country, flowing into the former, is reprefented by the Figure of a Woman on the same Coin.

EPMOC, Hermus, flowing near the Cities of Saittus, Sardes, and Temnus, in the leffer Afia, represented also as a beardless Youth, for the Reason given above.

ICTPOC, the *Ister* or *Danube*. Figured as a large bearded Man decumbent, leaning his Right Hand upon an Urn placed on Mountains, and holding a Reed in his Left.

KAMPOC, the River Caper, rising in the Confines of Phrygia, and losing itself in the Lycus. It is therefore, like the Sardo, a semale Figure reclined, while the Lycus, into which it flows, is figured as a beardless Youth.

KAYCTPOC, the Cayster, springing in Phrygia, and flowing through Lydia, at last discharges itself into

into the Ionian Sea. Being not navigable, it is re- TIBERIVS. presented as a beardless Youth, holding a Reed in his right Hand, and leaning his left upon an IJrn.

KENXPIOC, the Cenchrius, flowing into the Cayster, is figured as a Woman.

KETIOC. The Cetius, a River of Mysia, discharging itself into the Selinus, is represented in the same Manner.

KYANOC. The Cydnus of Cilicia, a beardless Man resting upon his Urn.

AYKOC. The Lycus of Phrygia, already spoken of, which, after having received the Caper, at last empties itself into the Maander. They are both, therefore, represented as beardless Youths.

MAIANΔPOC. The Mæander of Phrygia receives the River Marsyas; after which, the united Stream is fwoln with the Orga and the Obryma. We find them all four upon a Coin of Gordianus Pius; the two first represented as beardless Youths, and the two latter as Nymphs.

MAPCIAC. The Marlyas is just spoken of.

MEAHC. The Meles, a River of Ionia, before its Entrance into the Sea, washes the Walls of Smyrna to the North-east. It is of great Note for the Birth of the immortal Homer, thence called Melisigenes, who is said to have composed his Poems 12 12 9

TUBERRY S. in a Grotto near the Head of it. The Reader Pl. XIII. 18. may fee it figured in a Coin of the Empres Sabinate for the state of the state of the

ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΟC, Parthenius, a River of Paphlagonia, running through the City of Amastris, and entering the Sea between that and Tios. A beardless Youth.

THNAIOC, Penœus, a River of Æolis, figured as a bearded Man decumbent, holding his right Hand above his Head, having in his left a Cornucopiæ, and resting it on his Urn.

HYPAMOC, the Pyramus, flowing through Cilicia, and difemboguing itself into the Sea of Cyprus. It is represented as a bearded Man decumbent, as usual; in his right Hand a Reed, and in his left a Cornucopiæ, resting it upon his Urno och ver

PODIOC, Rodius of the Dardanians, is figured as a beardless Youth. In his right Hand he has the Helm of a Boat, his left leaning upon an Urn.

PYNDAKOC, Rhyndacus of the Apollonians, taking its Rife from the Lake Artynia, near Miletopolis, in Phrygia, receives in its Course the Macestus, and several other Rivers, and enters the Propontis, between the City of Cyzicus and the River Ascanius. It is depicted as a bearded Man decumbent, touching a Boat with his right Hand, and leaning his left upon an Urn.

CATAPIC,

CAΓAPIC, Sagaris of the Nicēans, discharges itself into the Euxine, or Black Sea. It is depicted as a bearded Man, holding a Plant in the right Hand, and a Reed in the left; at his Feet a Boat.

CAPΔΩ, Sardo. Of this Rivulet proper Notice has been taken already under the Article ΒΙΛΛΑΙΟC.

through the City of Pergamus. It took its Name from the Plenty of Parsley growing on its Banks, the Herb being called by the Greeks Selinus. It is represented as a beardless Man decumbent, a Reed in his right Hand; his left, which touches a Boat, leaning upon an Urn. Thus it appears upon the Coins of ÆLIUS CÆSAR, but on those of M. Aurelius he holds a Plant of Parsley in his right Hand, and a Cornucopiæ in his left; the River Cetius being represented on the same Coin, under the Figure of a Woman.

CKAMANAPOC, the Scamander, anciently the Xanthus, rising at the Foot of Mount Ida, and crossing the Trojan Plain, enters the Sea at the Sigean Promontory. He is decumbent and bearded, with his right Hand applied to the Prow of a Boat; his left, which holds a Cornucopiæ, leaning upon an Urn.

СКОПАС, Scopas, a River of Bithynia, in the Vol. I. 3 A Confines

TIBERIUS. Confines of Phrygia. It washes the Walls of Juliopolis, and afterwards flows into the Sagaris. It is therefore described as a Female Figure decumbent, holding in the right Hand Ears of Corn and Poppies, while the left holds a Reed, and leans upon an Urn, placed at the Foot of a Mountain.

> YAAOC, Hyllus, a River of Lydia, flowing into the Hermus, already spoken of. Hence we see it as a Female Figure decumbent, holding a Cornucopiæ in the left Hand, and leaning upon an Urn.

It remains only that we make Mention of the Cities themselves, which are distinguished upon Coins by different Names, which were assumed in Honour of the Emperors, as

PI.XIII. 19, 20. ATXIAAH, Anchiale, in Thrace, took the Name of OYAHIA, Ulpia, in Honour of Ulpius Trajan, its Benefactor, and the Inhabitants that of Ulpiani, as appears upon the following Coins struck by them to Gordianus Pius and Tranquillina. The first of these Reverses has a Serapis, whose Face, and that of the Emperor adverse, we find on several of this GORDIAN'S Greek Coins; which indicates the great Plenty of Provision which actually abounded in his Reign. The second has the Figure of a Woman in the Stola, or Long Robe, standing, the Hasta pura in her left Hand, and a Patera in her right.

AAANA.





AΔANA, Adana in Cilicia, whose Inhabitants in Tiberius. like Manner took the Name of Hadriani, in Compliment to the Emperor Hadrian, as we see on the Coins of Diadumenianus, Trebonianus, Gallus, and Valerian, where the Reading is AΔPIANΩN AΔANEΩN.

AITAI, Ægæ, a City also of Cilicia; and scarce any City in the Roman Empire has taken so many additional Names at different Times. On a Coin of Antoninus Pius we find ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΙΓΕΑΙΩΝ; on one of Commodus, KOMODIANON ADPIANON AIΓEAIΩN; on one of Antoninus Caracalla, AΔPI-ANON CETHPIANON ANTONEINIANON AILE-ΙΑΩΝ; on one of Macrinus, Μαρχε ΕΥΓενες Πανη-YEDISE OEWY MAKPEINOTHONIC AIFEAIWY; on one of ALEXANDER SEVERUS ADPIANON AITAION, and within a Wreath AAEZANAPOYHOAIC; on another, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΠΟΛΙΟ ΑΙΓΕΩΝ ΑΔΡΙανών. Patin, in his Imperatorum Numismata, has given us another Coin of ALEXANDER SEVERUS, but so much injured by Time that he does not venture to explain the Reverse. But this is done by Vaillant, p. 162. It is therefore laid before the curious with the true Legend. The laureate Head of the Emperor bears the Title ΑΥΤομεατως ΚΑΙσας Μαςκος ΑΥΡελίος CEYngos ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC CEBasos, Imperator Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Augustus. The Reverse

Pl. XIV. r.

TIBÉRIVS.

has the galeated Head of Pallas, with the Legend CEΥηριανων ΑΔριανων ΑΙΓΕΩΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥπολις; in the Area ZOC, i. e. Severianorum Hadrianorum Ægæensum Alexandropolis; Anno 277. For this was the Year of their Æra, in which they gave to their City the Name of Alexandropolis; which Æra commenced in the 707th Year of Rome.

AMACIA, in Pontus, in a Coin of Commodus AΔPIANA AMACIA; on one of Septimius Severus ΑΔριανα CEΥηριανα ANΤωνεινιανα AMACIA; also on others of Julia Domna, Caracalla, and Geta; and on one of Alexander Severus ΑΔριανα CEΥηριανα ΑΛΕΞάνδριαν ΑΜΑCIA.

ANKYPA, Ancyra in Galatia. On a Coin of Ca-RACALLA we read ANTONE INIANHC ANKYPAC, in Honour of that Emperor.

BEIΘΥΝΙΟΝ, in Bithynia. This was the Birth-Place of Antinous, the Catamite of Hadrian. We are not therefore much to wonder that we find upon his Coins, as well as on those of M. Aurelius, Commodus, Septimius, and Alexander Severus, BEΙΘΥ-ΝΙΕΩΝ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ.

Pl. XIV. 2.

BOCTPA, in Arabia, is represented by a Camelon the Coins of Commodus, with the Legend NEgoviann TPaiann BOCTPA, in Honour of Nerva TRAJAN.

ΓΑΔΑΡΑ, Gadara, a City of Syria, stiled Pom-

TIBERLUS.

peiana, in Gratitude to Pompey the Great, from whom they derived their Immunity. Hence we see on a Coin of L. Verus, ΠΟ ΓΑΔΑΡΕΩΝ; and on another of Gordianus Pius, ΠΟΜΠειανων ΓΑΔΑΡΕΩΝ.

ΓΟΡΔΟC, in Lydia, assumed the Name of ΙΟΥΛΙΑ or Julia, on Account of Benefits received from Julius Cæsar; whence upon Coins of M. Aure-LIUS, CARACALLA, ELAGABALUS, and ALEXANDER Severus, we read IOYAIEON FOPAHNON.

ECBOYC, Esbus in Arabia, stiled on a Coin of CARACALLA, AYPANIA ECBOYC, in Honour of that Emperor.

KPHTIA, Cretia in Bithynia. On a Coin of Julia Domna, impressed with the Figure of Fortune, the Legend is KPHTIEON $\Phi \Lambda \Lambda O \Upsilon IO \Pi O \Lambda I T \Omega N$. This City was therefore probably called Flaviopolis, in Honour of FLAVIUS VESPASIAN.

KYPHNH, Cyrene in Africa, is omitted by Vaillant. This City, the Province having formerly been governed by VESPASIAN, in Honour of him took also the Name of Flavia, as appears by a Coin of Pl. XIV. 34. TITUS, whereon it is represented as a Woman whose Head is covered with the Skin and Proboscis of the Elephant, with the Legend ΦΛΑΥια ΚΥΡΗΝΗ.

KYZIKOC, Cyzicus, stiled on the Coins of CARA-CALLA, ANTONEINIA KYZIKoc, in Compliment to the Emperor.

ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑ.

ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑ, Laodicea in Syria, called Julia from Julius Cæfar, as has been sufficiently remarked already, and Severiana from Septimius Severus.

ΛΕΥΚΑC in Syra, called ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑ, in Honour of the Emperor Claudius, on a Coin of Trajan.

MOΨΟΥΕCTIA, Mopsuestia, a City of Cilicia, to whose Inhabitants the Name of ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΜΟΨΕΑΤΩΝ is given on Coins of Antoninus Pius, Severus, and Macrinus.

Pl. XIV. 4.

NEAΠΟΛΙC, Neapolis, a City of Palestine, denominated Flavia, in Honour of Vespasian and his Family. On the Coins of Titus we see in a Wreath ΦΛΑΟΥΙών ΝΕΑΠΟΛΙτών ΣΑΜΑΡΕΙΑΣ, with the Epoch of the Place: the same on those of Domitian. On one of M. Aurelius we read ΦΛαβιας ΝΕΑCΠΟΛΕΩC ΠΑλαιςινής; but on others of the same Emperor, as well as on those of the younger Faustina, it is CYPIAC ΠΑΛΑΙCΤινής.

NIKOΠΟΛΙC, Nicopolis in Thrace, on the Banks of the River Mestus, called Ulpia, in Honour of Ulpius Trajan. Thus on one of Caracalla's Coins it is ΟΥΛΠιας ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΟ ΠΡος ΜΕΟΤΩ.

TIATTANIA, Pautalia, another City of Thrace, bearing the same Name, and for the same Reason, upon many Coins of M. Aurelius, Faustina the Younger, Commodus, Sept. Severus, Jul. Domna, Caracalla, and Geta; some sew of which are here presented

presented to the curious Reader. The two first are Reverses of FAUSTINA the Younger: on one is the Dea Salus, or Divinity of Health: on the other, Minerva feated, with her proper Attributes, the Helmet, Spear, Shield, and the Owl: the Legend of both is the same, OYAHIAC HAYTANIAC. Patin observes, that this City is called Pantalia by Procopius, contrary to the Reading of all the Coins, whose Testimony is irrefragable. The next is a Pl. XIV. 7-Reverse of her Son Commodus, with the same Reading: the Figure is that of Hercules, in Compliment to the Emperor, who assumed that Name, and this Figure is entirely the same with that of the Farnesian Hercules, as it is now called. The fourth is of Septimius Severus, having an Eagle standing on a Globe, with a Wreath of Laurel in his Beak, by which Emblem the Emperor is complimented with the Dominion of the Universe.

TIBERIVS. Pl. XIV. 5.

Pl. XIV. 6.

Pl. XIV. 8.

METPA, Petra, a strong City in Arabia, took the Name of Adriana Petra in Honour of the Emperor Hadrian. For we find on a Reverse of one of that Emperor's Coins, mentioned by Vaillant, in the Cabinet of his Most Christian Majesty, ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗ ΠΕΤΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙC, Hadriana Petra Metropolis. The City is represented by a Woman Pl. XIV. 9, 10. feated upon a Rock, holding a Patera in her right Hand, and bearing a Trophy on her left Shoulder.

One:

One of the same Sort we have in Patin, but somewhat obliterated. The last-mentioned Author could never have mistaken this for one of the Hadrianoples, if he had but compared this with another of his own Coins, the Legend of which is uninjured by Time, and bears the same Impression, except that the Figure of this last is turrited.

CAMOCATA, Samofate of Comagene, near the Euphrates, assumed the Name of Flavia in Honour of the Emperors of that Family, as appears from Pl. XIV. 11. The following Legend in a civic Wreath, on the Reverse of one of Hadrian's Coins. ΦΛΑΒΙΩς CAMΟσατης ΜΗΤΡΟπολεως ΚΟΜαγηνης. One of Antoninus Pius, bearing the same Name, has been already given.

Pl. XIV. 12. CEPAIKH, Serdiche or Serdica, a City of Thrace, denominated Ulpia in Honour of TRAJAN. The Reverse of one of CARACALLA'S Coins exhibits Ceres in her Car drawn by Serpents, with OYAHIAC CEPAIKHC.

TAOYION, Tavium, a City of Galatia, whose Inhabitants assumed the Name of Severiani, in Compliment to Septimius Severus.

TAPCOC, Tarsus, the Metropolis of Cilicia, has at different Times taken several Denominations, being on the Coins of Antoninus Pius and M. AuRELIUS called ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗ Hadriana; on those of Commodus,

COMMODUS, KOMO AIANH, Comodiana, yet retaining TIBERIVS. the former Hadriana: on those of Septimius Se-VERUS, CEYHPIANH, Severiana, with the same Addition; on those of CARACALLA and PLAUTILLA. ANTONEINIANH, Antoniniana, still keeping the Severiana, and on one of the former particularly it is stiled Hadriana Severiana Antoninoupolis; on those of MACRINUS, MAKPEINIANH, Macriniana, still retaining the other two; on those of ALEXANDER SEVERUS, AAE SAN APIANH, Alexandriana, with the former Additions; and on one of VALERIAN, Hadriana Severiana Antoniniana.

TIBEPIAC, Tiberias, a City of Palestine, on some Coins of Trajan and Hadrian is called KAAY DIA. Claudia, a Name given to it by Agrippa, King of the Fews, in Honour of the Emperor CLAUDIUS.

TOΠΕΙΡΟC, Topirus, a City of Thrace, on the Coins of Julia Domna, Caracalla, and Geta, is named Ulpia, in Honour of TRAJAN.

ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΙΑ, Philadelphia, a City of Lydia, is on the Coins of GORDIANUS PIUS and PHILIP called ΦΛΑΟΥΙΑ, Flavia, which Name it had affumed in Honour of VESPASIAN and his Family.

XAAKIC, Chalcis, in Syria, appears on the Coins of TRAJAN, HADRIAN, VERUS, and COMMODUS, to have taken the same Denomination for the same Reason.

VOL. I.

3 B

Thus

TIBERIUS.

Thus much feemed necessary to be inserted in this Place, for the Elucidation of the Greek Coins of the Roman Emperors, for which we are chiefly indebted to the indefatigable Pains and Diligence of Vaillant. We now resume the Thread of our Historical Narration.

This Year, which was that of the City DCCLXXV. DRUSUS, the Son of GERMANICUS, took the manly Gown, on which Occasion the same Honours were conferred upon him which had been decreed before to his Brother Nero; that he should be admitted into the Number of the (Vigintiviri) principal Magistrates, and have the Privilege of standing for the Quæstorship five Years sooner than the Laws allow-Pl. XIV. 13, 14. ed. The Memory of these young Princes, who foon after perished miserably, is preserved on a Medal, whereon they are represented on Horseback, struck afterwards by their Brother CAIUS.

For some Time past L. ÆLIUS SEJANUS had been the great Favourite and Minister of TIBERIUS. His Father was only of Equestrian Rank, but his. Mother was nobly descended. In Disposition and Manners he much resembled the Emperor himself. This was one Ground of his powerful Interest with him. He had strong Endowments both of Body and Mind, which he perverted to the basest Ends; shewed much Ease, Facility, and Address in the Dispatch

Dispatch of Business; and is celebrated, by his TIBERIVS. Friend and Flatterer (Velleius) for many Virtues. particularly his Moderation and Humility. But these were only put on for a Time, being the Cloak under which he veiled his Debauchery and unmeasurable Ambition. He had been joined with his Father in the Command of the Prætorian Guards, but, the latter being invested with the Government of Egypt, he now discharged that Commission alone. That he might have these Troops entirely subservient to his Views, he had fuggested to the Emperor the Expediency of having them encamped in a Body, at Hand for the Suppression of Tumults and other sudden Exigencies, rather than dispersed, as they had been hitherto, in the neighbouring Towns. This Point being carried, by constituting such Officers as he could confide in, and by the most generous and winning Behaviour to the common Soldiers, he rendered them entirely his own. His Statue of Brass had been set up by the Emperor in the Theatre of POMPEY. The obsequious Multitude took the Hint. Statues were raifed to him in every Part of the City, by all who had Dependence or Expectations at Court. All Places of Honour and Profit were filled up by his Creatures, and the Senators themselves wholly at his Devotion. Thus supported, he aimed at 3 B 2 nothing

nothing lefs than the Imperial Authority, at which he was determined to arrive by the Death of all that were capable of obstructing his Way. His Practice was to enter into Intrigues with the Wives of the most eminent Persons, from whom he learned the Secrets and Dispositions of their several Husbands: and as Drusus, the Emperor's own Son, who made frequent Complaints of his Infolence and Tyranny, was the prime great Obstacle in his Way, he had been for fome Time past engaged in an adulterous Commerce with his Wife LIVILLA. in order to promote his Destruction by her Means. He now pretended an extraordinary Passion for her, promised to marry her on the Death of her Husband, and raise her forthwith to the Imperial Dignity, and, to gain Belief to his Protestations, instantly divorced his own Wife Apicata. Having thus far prevailed, Eudemus her Physician was let into the Secret, who, by their Orders, prepared a flow Poison. This was administered by the Eunuch Lygdus, the Freedman of DRUSUS. The Prince languished for a while and died, and his Death was confidered as the natural Confequence of his Debaucheries and Intemperance. The Circumstances of this dark Affair were laid open eight Years after, when SEJANUS fuffered. The Emperor shewed little Concern on this Occasion; infomuch that.

that, when the Deputies of Ilium or Troy came TIBERDVS. (somewhat of the latest indeed) to offer their Compliments of Condolance, he humorously made Answer, "I also condole with you on the Loss of " fo excellent a Citizen as Hector." The fame Honours, which had been paid to GERMANICUS, were decreed to the Deceased, and the Images of the Julian and Claudian Families exhibited in the Pomp. He left behind him two Children, born at a Birth, who are represented upon ancient Coins as springing from a Junction of two Cornucopie, the Emblem of Fertility, with a Caduceus between them: on the other Side is DRVSVS CAESAR TIberii AVGusti Filius DIVI AVGusti Nepos PONTifex TRibunitia POTestate II. The Area is filled up with S.C. One of these died the next Year. The other, who bore the Name of TIBERIUS, we shall hear further of hereafter. NERO and DRUSUS, the two eldest Sons of GERMANICUS, were now recommended by the Emperor to the Protection of the Senate. This Year the Scenic Players, who had created Disturbances in the City, were banished Italy. ightarrow c is the half police of the i

- Extraordinary Encouragements were now given to Informers: in Consequence of which, the Accusations and Condemnations of great Men fill up a large Part of the Annals of Tacitus for the enfuing Year. For

Pl. XIV. 15.

TIBERIUS, to be accused and condemned was much the same Thing. Amongst others, we have a strange Instance of a Father (Vibius Serenus) dragged in Chains, and with all the Bitterness of Malice charged with Treason by his own Son.

> TIBERIUS having reigned ten Years, his Decennalia were celebrated with the usual Shows and Entertainments: but as he had not accepted of the Empire for any limited Time, as had Augustus, he held all Mention of a Prolongation to be needless.

> Caius Silanus, and after him Lucilius Capito, Procurator of Afia, having been given up to Punishment by the Emperor, for Extortion and Oppression, the feveral Cities of Afia, by common Consent, decreed a Temple to him, his Mother, and the Senate. The Honour of possessing the destined Temple was contested by Eleven of the principal Cities, and at last decided by the Senate in Favour of Smyrna. Valerius Naso had the Charge of superintending the Work but died or was removed before it was finished, as there is Room to conjecture. For the following Medal appears to have been struck by the Smyrnæans on that Occasion, having on one Side

Pl. XIV. 16.

two female Bustos, representing Julia and the SE-NATE, with CEBACTH. CYNKAHTOC. CMYPNAION. HPONYMOY: i. e. Augusta Senatus Smyrnæorum

Pl. XIV. 17. Heronymo præfecto. On the other Side is the Temple itself, with the Statue of the Emperor, and TIBERIVS.

CEBACTW TIBEPIW EΠΙ ΠΕΤΡΩΝΙΟΥ: i. e. Augusto Tiberio sub Petronio. We find a Temple of the same Sort dedicated to Julia and Augustus, under the Direction of the same Petronius, by the Pergamenians; as we do the Name of the same Smyrnæan Præsect around an Altar inscribed to Tiberius Augustus.

When Application had been made to the Emperor, Julia, and the Senate, for Leave to build this Temple, and Permission granted accordingly, young Nero returned the public Thanks to them in a graceful Oration, which gained him the great Good-will of his Audience, to whom the Memory of his Father was very dear. But the public Favour soon became fatal both to him and his Brother DRUSUS. For when the Pontifs, and the rest of the Priests by their Example, preferred their Vows for the Prosperity of the Emperor, they took upon them to recommend Nero and Drusus also to the Protection of the same Gods. 10 Ato this Tiberius took Offence, complaining that the young Men were made equal to himself. He reproved the Pontifs, and enquired narrowly whether they had not done it at the Infligation of AGRIPPINA. Sejanus catched at the Occasion. He said, the City was rent into Factions, as in a Civil War; that AGRIP-

PINA

PINA was at the Head of a Party which daily gathered Strength, and might prove dangerous, if one or two of them were not taken off in Time. These Infinuations proved fatal to C. Silius, who had performed great Services in Germany, and had heen the fast Friend of the late GERMANICUS. He was therefore charged with Mal-Practices in the Province. For in a corrupt Court, Pretences are never wanting, and the Guilt of the Accused is less considered than the Disposition of the Prince. To avoid a public Execution, he dispatched himself; and his Wife, who was in high Favour with AGRIP-PINA, was fent into Banishment. These Proceedings exposed the young Princes and their Mother to the Malice or Avarice of every Accuser, and paved the Way to their intended Ruin. - and and more

An End was at length put to the War in Numidia, by the Defeat and Death of Tacfarinas, with his principal Adherents.

Amongst the many who perished by the Law of Majesty in the following Year, the Case of the Historian Cremutius Cordus was singular. His Crime was, that in his Annals he had commended M. Brutus, and called C. Cassius the last of the Romans. Sure of suffering, and determined therefore to put an End to his own Life, he made a very noble Desence before the Senate, and after-

wards

wards retired to his own House, where, by abftaining from all Manner of Food, he soon finished
his Course. His Books were publicly burned by
the Ædiles in the City, and by the principal Magistrates in other Places. But many Copies were
concealed by his Daughter and others, which were
afterwards dispersed, and read with the more Avidity.
This is all that bad Princes get by suppressing the
Works of ingenious Men: they proclaim their own
Dishonour, and enlarge the Reputation of the
Authors.

The Inhabitants of Cyzicus, a City in the Propontis, lying close to the Coast of Asia, had by their Fidelity to the Romans, in the Mithridatic War, well deserved to be called a free City. But this Privilege they were now deprived of, it being alledged against them that they had imprisoned some Roman Citizens, and had not finished their Temple to the deified Augustus.

Claudia Pulchra, a near Relation of AGRIPPINA, was accused by Cn. Domitius Afer, a Person of Prætorian Rank, and no mean Orator, of Adultery with one Furnius, and of using the Arts of Sorcery and Magic against the Life of the Emperor. Claudia and Furnius were condemned of Course, and the Accuser cried up as a Master of Eloquence. From this Æra we may date the Persecution of the Family

TIBERIUS. of GERMANICUS. This Affair produced a Sort of Altercation between the Emperor and AGRIPPINA, a Lady of high Spirit, and which could not turn out otherwise than to her Disadvantage. "If," says he, " you are not fuffered to command, presently you " look upon yourself to be injured." Some Time after, when he paid her a Visit in her Illness, after pouring out a Flood of Tears, she entreated that he would have Pity on her folitary Condition, and difpose of her in Marriage to some worthy Person. who might be able to protect her and her Children. But the crafty Emperor, knowing of what Confequence the Request was, left her without vouchfafing an Answer. Sejanus managed her with more Art. By his Emissaries he persuaded her, that Poison was provided for her, and that she would do well to be cautious at the Emperor's Table. This Bait succeeded: she behaved demurely there. but ate nothing. This was observed by TIBERIUS. who had probably been informed that she harboured such Thoughts of him. He took Occasion to commend some Apples that were before him, and gave them into her Hands. This increased her Suspicion. She received and delivered them untasted to her Slaves in waiting; when the Emperor, turning towards his Mother, faid, "Can " any Usage of this Woman be deemed severe in "me. "me, whom she indirectly charges with a Design Tiberivs."

"of poisoning her?" The Rumour immediately flew abroad, that her Destruction was intended.

All this while Sejanus was not unmindful of himself. LIVILLA, whom Tacitus calls LIVIA, the Widow of Drusus, infifted on the Performance of his Promise to her. He therefore applied himself by Letter to Tiberius: for this was the received Custom, though they saw one another daily. He acknowledged his infinite Obligations to Augustus and Tiberius; that "his Hopes and Wishes had "been equally directed to them as to the Gods "themselves; that he had never preferred the "Splendor of Honours, but had chosen rather to watch and labour for the Safety of the Emperor; that what was most honourable, he had " already obtained, the being judged worthy of an " Alliance with CESAR;" (his Daughter being betrothed to Drusus, the Son of CLAUDIUS) " this " had laid the Foundation of his Hope: that "Augustus, in the Disposal of his Daughter, " had even entertained favourable Thoughts of " some Equestrians: if in like Manner an Husband " should be thought of for LIVILLA, that he " would be pleased to remember his Friend, whose " Happiness would be complete with the sole "Glory of such an Alliance; that he did not 3 C 2 mean

TIBERIVS.

" mean by this to exempt himself from any La-" bours in the public Service, but wished for it " for the Sake of his Children only, and as a Se-" curity to them against the implacable Resent-"ments of AGRIPPINA: for himself, he should "think that he had lived long enough, should he "finish his Course with so gracious a Prince." The Emperor answered darkly, that "he should Give this Matter a more careful Confideration " hereafter: much Regard was to be had to the " Opinion of the Public; he would not tell him, " therefore, that LIVILLA could determine for her-" felf, or that she had a Mother and a Grandmother, whom she ought to consult, but would be " more open with him, and let him know, that " the Resentments of AGRIPPINA would flame out " the more fiercely should such an Event take " Place, which would divide and diffract the Im-" perial House; that in such a Case it would not " be possible for him to continue in the same "Station; that he would not however declare " himself positively for or against the Proposal: " only this he affured him of, that his Virtues and " Affection deserved every Thing at his Hands, " and that in proper Time he would make known " how dear he was to him, either to the Senate or "to the People." This doubtful Answer perplexed

plexed and filled him with Apprehensions. After TIBERIVS. much Deliberation, he refolved to perfuade the Emperor to leave Rome. With this View he was continually extolling the Pleasures of Retirement: what exquisite Happiness he might promise to himself by being freed from the Fatigues of Ceremony, from an irksome Attendance upon the Senate, and from the Hurry and Tumult of Business, by a Recess not exposed to the Designs of Faction, or of Treason, and in which only sincere Delight was to be tasted! These Speeches sunk deep into the Mind of the old Emperor, who was defirous enough of purfuing his Debaucheries in private, and without Restraint. Sejanus knew well that, could he bring this to bear, all Access to the Emperor, and even the Effect of his Letters, of which he could fecure the Perufal, would depend upon himself; that all Business would go through his own Hands, and that he should thereby possefs, not the empty Shew, but the Reality of Power. And an Accident happened at this Time which very much forwarded his Scheme. One Votienus Montanus, celebrated for his fine Parts and Ingenuity, was accused of having uttered reproachful Speeches against the Emperor. Æmilius, a blunt Soldier, was the Witness. In the Ardour of Accusation, openly and with a strong Voice he repeated

TIBERIVS. peated all the scandalous Things that had been alledged against TIBERIUS, nor could all the Clamour of the Senators filence him till he had made the most of every Calumny. The Emperor was enraged, and cried out aloud, that " he would " clear himself presently," and it was with much Difficulty that his pretended Friends and Flatterers could prevail upon him to compose himself. This, however, and fuch-like Passages, made him heartily fick of listening to the Calumnies to which he found himself daily exposed in public.

> Meantime Things were not entirely eafy in the Provinces. In the hither Spain, Calpurnius Piso, the Proprætor, had by his intolerable Exactions incurred the Hatred of the Barbarians, and perished by Affassination. In Thrace, the People flew to Arms against the Proconful Poppæus Sabinus. Rhæmetalces, who reigned over a Part of that Country, marched to his Assistance; as did Pomponius Labeo with a Roman Legion from Mæsia: by whose joint Efforts they were reduced, though not without considerable Loss. This Rhametalces was the Uncle and Guardian of the Children of Cotys, and had heretofore been very affistant to the Romans in the Time of Augustus, and between him and that Emperor a mutual Intercourse of Civilities had passed: in Confirmation of which, there are

fome Coins in the Cabinets of the Curious, which TIBERIVS. bear the Head of Augustus on one Side, with Pl. XIV. 19, KAISAPOS SEBASTOY; and on the other, that of RHEMETALCES: and on some of them that of his Queen joined, with POΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, Rhæmetalcis Regis.

TIBERIUS now resolved in earnest to leave Rome. To this he had other Motives, besides those already mentioned. He did not care that his Figure should any longer be made the Jest of the Multitude. His Legs were long and lank, and he stooped with Age: his Head was bald, and his Face deformed with Boils, and generally befmeared with Unquents. Nor could he bear his Mother's interfering, as she did, with Affairs of State, and yet knew not how to hinder it: for to her he was indebted for the Empire itself. He therefore set out with a small Train for Campania, under the Pretence of dedicating a Temple to Jupiter at Capua, and another to Augustus at Nola, nor did he ever return to the City. Some Time after, as he was regaling himself and his Company in a Grotto near Terracina, an Accident happened which endeared Sejanus to him more than ever. For in the Midst of the Entertainment, the Mouth of the Grotto fell in, and crushed several of the Guests and Attendants. In this Article of Danger, Sejanus (for

TIBERIUS. all the rest had fled for their Lives) spread himself over his Master, and, sustaining himself upon his Hands and Knees, received upon his Back the falling Stones, and secured him from all Injury. In this Posture he was found by the Soldiers who came to their Assistance. After this Proof of his Fidelity and Firmness, no Doubt was made of the Difinterestedness of Sejanus, who was now considered as only anxious for the Honour and Safety of the Emperor; while the Favourite made use of this Confidence for the Promotion of all his evil

> From Campania, TIBERIUS removed to the Island of Capreæ near Naples. He made Choice of this Place, not for the Salubrity of its Air, the Mildness of its Situation, and the enchanting Beauty of its Prospects, for these were only concurring Circumstances; but chiefly for its Security. For it was encompassed with high Rocks and a deep Sea, with few Landing-Places; fo that it was scarce possible for any one to approach it without being observed by those who were constantly on the Watch. Here he devoted himself for ten Years together to the most abandoned Lewdness, neglecting the Affairs of the Provinces to such a Degree, that there were few Changes of military Tribunes, Commanders, and Governors, for feveral Years:

of which the Enemies of the State did not fail to TIBERIVS. make their Advantage. The Parthian possessed himself of Armenia, the Dacians and Sarmatians of Mæha, the Germans overran and plundered Gaul, and the Trifians revolted, to the great Dishonour and no less Danger of the Empire. But TIBERIUS, having found a fecure Place for the uncontrouled Exercise of his Debaucheries, and at a Distance from the Eyes of the Citizens cared for none of these Things, but, giving the Rein to his Licentiousness, plunged himself wholly in those abominable Vices which hitherto he had craftily concealed. Whosoever has a Taste for such Reading, may see the full Detail of his Enormities in his Biographer Suetonius. In this Place those Coins were struck which are denominated Spintriæ; a Name given to the Contrivers of the monstrous Lewdnesses which were here practifed; and from these the loose Figures of Aretin were copied. Each of them reprefents fome lascivious Feat, the Reverses bearing only the Number of the Coins. Mr. Addison says in his Travels, that he has feen as high as XX. The highest Number in the Pembrokian Collection is XV. VITELLIUS, afterwards Emperor, was one of these Companions, and had in Consequence the ridiculous Title of Spintria. It is derived from (Σπινθης) a Greek Word, signifying a fiery Spark; Vol. I. for 3 D

TEBEREVS.

for these were properly the Incentives of Lust, and were intended as such.

This Recess was followed by two very dreadful Calamities. For at Fidenæ the public Amphitheatre fell down, and killed or maimed fifty thousand Spectators affembled therein. And all the Buildings on Mount Galius at Rome were destroyed by Fire. But the Sufferers by the last found a Remedy, their Damage being entirely made good by the Emperor, who on certain Occasions gave Instances of a princely Generosity. This Quarter, being re-edified, received the Name of Mount Augustus, in Honour of the Emperor's Munificence. His Return to the City being urgently demanded by the People, he condescended to pass over to the Continent, where all who defired it were admitted to his Presence. and received with much Grace and Affability. But he quickly refumed his Intention, and retired again to his beloved Island. At this Time Pontius Pilatus was invested with the Government of Judæa, in which he continued near ten Years; under whose Government CHRIST, the Author of our Religion. fuffered, according to the Testimony of Tacitus. Annaki A. xvanganil shanaritha esullati

The next Year, when Ap. Junius Silanus, and P. Silius Nerva, entered upon the Consulate, was ushered in with the Death of Titius Sabinus, an old.

and

and firm Friend of GERMANICUS, whom Sejanus had TIBERIVS. long had his Eye upon. He had been betrayed into fome heedless Expressions by his pretended Friend Latiaris, who had concealed some Persons to be Witnesses of what should pass. The Discovery being made, to the great Satisfaction of Sejanus, he was instantly hurried to Prison, crying out as he went, that thus began the Year, and fuch were the Victims offered to Sejanus. Thence he was dragged to the public Place of Execution, and his Body thrown into the Tiber. The Fidelity of his Dog is worthy to be recorded, who attended him to Prison, could not be forced from him at the Instant of his Death, and leaped after the dead Body of his Master into the River, where he voluntarily perished. This Year Julia, the Granddaughter of Augustus, died at Rhegium, the Place of her Exile, whither the had been removed from Pandataria. And the younger Agrippina, the Daughter of Germanicus, was given in Marriage to CN. Domitius, a Man of detestable Character, to whom the bore Nero, who was afterwards Emperor.

Under the two Gemini, who succeeded to the Consulate, died Julia Augusta, the Widow of Augustus, and the Mother of Tiberius, at the Age of Eighty-six Years. The Emperor neither visited her in her Illness, nor attended her Obse-

TIBERIVS.

quies, nor suffered any extraordinary Honours to be paid to her; particularly prohibiting any Confecration. But the Senate took upon them to order a full Year's Mourning, and decreed a magnificent Arch to her Memory. But this last TIBERIUS rendered ineffectual, by declaring that he would take upon himself the Building and Expence, though he intended nothing less. Her Remains were deposited in the Mausoleum of Augustus, with the usual Pomp. In Pride and Stateliness, the is said to have exceeded all her Sex. Ambition and the Aggrandifement of her own Family was her great Failing; for the Furtherance of which she was suspected by some to have been concerned in the Death of MARCELLUS, of the two Casars Casus and Lucius, of Augustus himself, and Agrippa Posthumus. Her Joy at the Death of GERMANICUS was immoderate, and so was: her Hatred of the elder Julia. Yet she had severals good Qualities. By her Power she faved many eminent Persons from Destruction, took Care of the Education of their Children, and largely affifted in the Disposal of their Daughters in Marriage. When a Number of naked Men once met her in the Way, and for that Offence were ordered to be put to Death, she faved their Lives, faying, that, with respect to modest Women, they were but so many Statues. When asked by what Means she had acquired.



Y



quired the entire Management of Augustus, she Tiberivis. answered, "By her rown Modesty, by readily exe-"! cuting allochis Commands, by never enquiring into his Secrets, and by being blind to his Amours." In the last indeed she is even said to have affifted in Many more Honours had been conferred upon ther both living and dead, but for the Jealoufy of her Son. The Carpentum drawn by Mules was decreed to her by the Senate, as we find by the Medal before us, whereon the Vehicle itself Pl. XIV. 21. is represented, and over it S. P. Q. R. IVLIAE AVGVST. By the Figures remaining of her, she feems to have been of a mild engaging Countenance, as may appear by those already given, and by two others, which have great Likeness, though struck in the Provinces, the one at Turiaso, a City in the Hither Spain, famous for its Iron Works, and is the Reverse of a Medal of Augustus; the other at Edessa, in Mesopotamia, being the Reverse of one of TIBERIUS, with SEBASTH EDESSAION, Augusta Edessacrum. The transfer of the

Pl. XV. T.

Pl. XV. 2.

The Death of Julia Augusta raised the Spirits of Tiberius and Sejanus. Her Authority had been fome Restraint upon their Proceedings, but now they gave a Loose to their intemperate Cruelty. Letters were immediately dispatched to the Senate against AGRIPFINA and NERO. The first was charged

with.

TIBERIUS. with Arrogance and Stubbornness, the last with unnatural Lust and Debauchery. The Senators were struck with Terror and Amazement, and the Populace furrounded the House, crying out, that the Letters were forged, and the Emperor knew nothing of them; so that no Resolution was taken for the present. But they were soon quickened by a Meffage from Sejanus, charging them with Contempt of the Imperial Authority, and little less than open Rebellion. An Edict was also published against the Contumacy of the People. The Prince and his Mother were presently found guilty. The first was banished to the Island of Pontia, where he foon died of Want or put an End to his own Life. The latter was confined to the little Isle of Pandataria. Her fecond Son Drusus was foon after imprisoned in the Palace, where, at the End of four Years, he was unmercifully starved to Death, and AGRIPPINA perished about the same Time by a voluntary Abstinence.

> Sejanus wanted now but one Step more to arrive at the Summit of Power. A Decree passed for the public Celebration of his Birth-day. His Statues were without Number. Public Sacrifices were daily offered before them; nay (to shew to what a Depth of Degeneracy human Nature will descend, when left to follow its own Imaginations) he offered Sa-

crifice to himself. Deputies were commissioned to TIBERIVS. him feparately, as to Tiberius, from the Senate, from the Equestrian Order, and from the Tribunes and Ædiles. Vows and Supplications were offered for both conjointly, and Oaths were folemnly made by the Fortune of both. This at length excited the Jealoufy of the old Emperor. Such Power was incompatible with the Safety of both; and his Suspicions were heightened by some Discoveries artfully conveyed to him from Antonia, the Widow of the elder Drusus. His whole Conduct on this Occasion was a Masterpiece of Dissimulation. He declared himself Consul for the ensuing Year, and appointed Sejanus for his Colleague. By this he removed him from his Prefence, and gained Leifure for the Execution of his Scheme He parted with him in the most friendly Manner, and, in his Letters to the Senate, dwelled largely on his Praises, filing him the Partner of this Cares. A Decree paffed; prolonging the Confulate of both for five Years. The most illustrious Citizens thronged to his Levee, and happy was the Man that could attract his Notice Even his Freedmen and Slaves were courted by Perfons of Rank and Figure. Those to whom he expressed the least Distaste, were accused, imprisoned, and executed daily. Matters went on smoothly with him till the Ides of

May,

Type Raivis. May, when the Emperor and himself labdicated, and C. Memmius Regulus and Fulcinius Trio were substituted to the Fasces in their room. Them Ti-BERIUS began by Degrees to vary his Language: Sometimes he wrote favourably concerning him; at other Times blamed him of This rendered the Senators doubtful and wavering, and filled Sejanus himself with Anxiety. What added to it was, that CALIGULA began to be careffed of He was first made Augur, and then Pontif of Augustrus, and seemed intended for the Succession. This took wonderfully with the People, who were greatly devoted to the Family of GERMANICUS. Finding that these Proceedings had the defired Effect, and that the Credit of Sejanus began to fink, he judged it Time to strike the meditated Blow. Macro alone was made privy to his Intentions. He put into his Hands a Commission constituting him Captain of the Prætorian Guards, and gave him a long Letter to the Senate, with the Purport of which he made him previously acquainted, adding the most punctilious Directions for his whole Behaviour. This Officer entered Rome by Night, and imparted the necesfary Instructions to Regulus: for Fulcinius, the other Consul, was known to be the Creature of Sejanus. The Senate was convened in the Morning, and Macro whispered Sejanus, as he entered, that he brought

brought Letters from the Emperor, directing the TIBERIVS. Senate to advance him to the Tribunitial Power. He then left him, and ordered by his Commission fuch of the Prætorian Guards, as had attended Sejanus thither, to repair to the Camp, whither himself also presently went to prevent Disturbances. This done, the Commander of the Vigiles or City Guards invested the Place with his Men. The Emperor's Letters were now recited by Regulus. After some Complaints concerning Sejanus, which were flightly passed over and intermingled with Business, they were directed to put to Death two Persons named therein, who had shared his Counsels. Here his Confidence for fook him: but when it was heard that they had Orders also to secure his Perfon, his Friends did fo too: infomuch that he, who had the fame Morning been courted and flattered by them with the Assiduity of Slaves, was by the unanimous Consent of the Senate voted to Prison with all the Bitterness of Taunt and Reproach. In the Afternoon of the same Day they affembled again, and condemned him to Death; and the Sentence was instantly put in Execution. The Body of the unhappy Criminal was dragged about the Streets for three Days by the enraged Populace, and then thrown into the Tiber. His guiltless Children were foon condemned to the same Fate, VOL. I. 3 E and

TIBERIVS.

and so severe an Inquisition passed upon all his Friends and Acquaintance, that scarce any of them escaped the general Slaughter. His Name was erased from the Fasti, and his Cars, Statues, and Images of every Kind, were broken to Pieces or melted down. Such is ever the Fate of unsuccessful Ambition. Whence the Satyrist on this Occasion:

Quosdam præcipitat subjecta potentia magnæ Invidiæ, mergit longa atque insignis bonorum Pagina, descendunt statuæ restemque sequuntur. Ipsas deinde rotas bigarum impatta securis Cædit, et immeritis franguntur crura caballis. Jam stridunt ignes, jam follibus atque caminis Ardet adoratum populo caput, et crepat ingens Sejanus: deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda Fiunt urceoli, pelves, sartago, patellæ. Pone domi lauros, duc in Capitolia magnum Cretatumque bovem: SEJANUS ducitur unco Spectandus. Gaudent omnes.—Quæ labra, quis illi Vultus erat? nunquam, si quid mibi credis, amavi Hunc hominem.—Sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam Delator? quibus indicibus, quo teste probavit? Nil borum; verbosa et grandis Epistola venit A Capreis.—Bene habet, nil plus interrogo: sed quid Turba Remi?-Sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit Damnatos .- Idem populus, si Nurtia Tusco Favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus Principis, bac ipsa Sejanum diceret bora JUVENAL, Sat. 10. Augustum.-

Many, thrown headlong from the Height of State, Have felt the fad Effects of envious Hate, In Honours drown'd; the Halter, dire Difgrace! Drags the gay Statue tumbling from its Base.

Down

TIBERIVS-

Down with his Cars !—then crash goes ev'ry Spoke, And the poor harmless Horses' Legs are broke: The Head, but now ador'd, the Furnace maims, And great SEIANUS crackles in the Flames: New-fashion'd from his other Face divine. Bright from the Forge, Pots, Pans, and Platters shine: Let Laurel-Branches round your Doors appear, Lead to the Capitol a milk-white Steer, SEIANUS by the Hook is dragg'd along, A joyous Prospect for the madding Throng!-What were his Features? tell me, if you can, For, trust me, Sir, I never lov'd the Man. What was his Crime? and who th' Informer, pray? What Witnesses on that important Day?— None of all this, Sir; but from Capreæ's Shore A fwinging Letter came—Enough; no more: But how behav'd the Crowd?—As e'er it will, It follows Fortune, and is ready still To curfe the Man condemn'd; yet had his Pow'r But crush'd Tiberius in that critic Hour, Then furely had the fame unthinking Crowd Hail'd him Augustus with a Throat as loud.

Amidst this ruinous Abolition of every thing relating to Sejanus, it is wonderful that any Coin, bearing his Name, should have escaped the common Wreck. But one we have, which still records his Consulate, having on one Side the laureate Head of Tiberius, with the Inscription TI. CAESAR DIVI AVGVSTI F. AVGVSTVS. The Reverse gives us the Name of the Place, which was Augusta Bil-

Pl. XV. 3.

TIBERIUS. bilis, now Calatained, in the Kingdom of Arragon, where the Coin was struck, together with the Names of the Confuls; and in the Center COS, inclosed in a Wreath of Laurel: Wnicipium AVGVSTA BILBILIS TIberio CAESARE V. Lucio ÆLIO SEIANO.

> Apicata, the divorced Wife of Sejanus, feeing her innocent Children thus barbarously sacrificed, broke out into the most horrible Execrations against the Authors of her Calamities; and then, in the Bitterness of her Spirit, and to give the Tyrant, if not void of Sensibility, some Feeling of her own Misery, wrote to him a very circumftantial Account of the feveral Parts, which Sejanus, LIVILLA, Eudemus, and Lygdus had acted in the Murder of his own Son Drusus. This done, she put an End to her own Life. The Perusal of this Information wrought up TIBERIUS to a Pitch of diabolical Fury. Eudemus was feized, and, being examined by the Torture, confirmed the Evidence of Apicata; on which themselves, and all with whom they had any Concern, fuffered with exquisite Torment. was starved to Death, her own Mother Antonia deprecating all Mercy on her Behalf. Such dreadful Cruelties were exercised upon all the supposed Friends and Well-wishers of the Sufferers, that immediate

TIBERIVS.

mediate Death was in some Instances considered as a singular Favour, was petitioned for, and resuled, as such.

At the Commencement of the new Year, the Senate swore Man by Man to the Acts of Tiberius. This was unusual; but it was done to wipe off all Sufpicion of Disaffection. And in that which followed, fifteen Prætors were appointed; and the extraordinary Number of these Magistrates continued for many Years, rising sometimes to fixteen, and at others being one or two more or fewer. Notwithstanding the shocking Slaughter made of the Kindred and Friends of Sejanus, according to the concurrent Testimony of Historians, we find one of the same Name now discharging the Office of Prætor, who, in the Sports and Entertainments which he gave, had the Whole performed by Perfons whose Crowns were close-shaven, in Derision of the Emperor's Baldness; and the Spectators were lighted Homefrom the Theatre by five thousand bald Youths, planted ready for that Purpose. This was at the Exhibition of the Floralia, a Festival which held four Days, from the twenty-feventh of April to the first of May, in Honour of the Goddes Flora. These were Spectacles of much Licentiousness and Lewdness; which Consideration heightened, and in fome Sort applied the Satire. They were first exhibited

Pl. XV. 4.

TIBERIUS. hibited by C. Servilius, who was Master of the Horse. to Manlius Torquatus, in the Year of the City DXLV. according to his Denarius, which has on one Side two Gladiators, and underneath C. SER EILius C. F.: and on the other the Figure of the gay Goddess. crowned with Flowers, and FLORAia PRIMVS. The Emperor, with all his Cruelty, judged it necessary to dissemble his Knowledge of this Affront.

> Amongst the many private Citizens who miserably perished, was Tigranes, who had been King of Armenia, and was the Grandson of two crowned Heads. Herod King of Judea, and Archelaus of Cappadocia, were accused, condemned, and executed like private Persons, and his Kinsman Agrippa confined in Prison. The remaining four Years of this Reign were a continued Scene of Blood, which it is painful to wade through. But the Case of Sextus Marius is particular. He was one of the richest Men in Rome, and had a Daughter of most exquisite Beauty. These fair Gifts of Fortune and of Nature proved his Ruin. He had equal Reason to fear the Avarice and unbridled Luft of the Emperor. Therefore, to secure the Honour of his House in the first Place, he removed his Daughter to a fafe Retreat. An Accufation was therefore fet on Foot against him, upon a Charge of Incest, and he was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian Rock. His Effects were confiscated

confiscated to the Public, but TIBERIUS seized them TIBERIUS. for his own Use. Some Medals were now struck in Honour of the deified Augustus, having two Figures of Capricorn upon a Globe, which support a Civic Crown, encircling OB CIVES SERvatos, and inscribed DIVO. AVGVSTO, S. P. Q. R. On the Reverse, TIberius CAESAR DIVI AVGusti Filius AVGVStus Pontifex whom POTestate XXXVII; and in the Centre S. C.

Pl. XV. 5.

At this Time Julia and Drusilla, two of the Daughters of GERMANICUS, were given in Marriage, the former to M. Vinucius, and the latter to L. Cafhus. And their Brother, C. Caligula, took to Wife Junia Claudia, or Claudilla, as she is called by Suetonius, the Daughter of M. Silanus, a Senator of the first Rank. In the East a young Man, pretending to be Drusus, the Son of GERMANICUS, and beginning to draw Followers to him, was feized, and fent to Tiberius. An Inundation of the Tiber, and a Fire which broke out on Mount Aventine, and destroyed all the Buildings in that Quarter of the City, created much Confusion: but the Sufferers were indemnified by the Emperor, as in a former Case of the same Nature. He had twice, since he left it, returned to the Neighbourhood of the City with Defign to enter it, and as fuddenly retired again; frightened away the last Time by his own Supersti-

tion.

TIBERIUS. tion. For a Serpent-Dragon, which he was fond of, and used to feed with his own Hands, being confumed to the Bones by Emmets, he listened immediately to the Advice of those who warned him to "beware of the Multitude." At Aftura he found himself indisposed, yet went on, endeavouring by all possible Means to conceal his Indispofition from all his Attendants. With this View he affisted at the public Sports at Circeii, and thence proceeded to the Villa which had heretofore belonged to Lucullus. There was with him an eminent Physician, named Charicles, not attending as fuch, but whose Advice, in civil Affairs, he made use of. This Man, in taking Leave of him, as required by Business, grasped his Hand and Wrist in fuch Manner as to feel the Pulsation of the Artery. Tiberius perceived it, and to convince him that he was well, ordered the Entertainment to be renewed, as in Honour of his departing Friend, and stayed at it longer than usual. But Charicles declared to Macro, that it was over with him, for that he could not last above two Days longer. On the seventeenth of the Calends of April he fainted, and was believed to be dead. On this CAIUS went out, and was presently surrounded by congratulating Friends. But in the Midst of their triumphant Joy, Word was brought that he was come to himfelf,

felf, and called for some Refreshment. Instantly all dispersed, having Dread and Despair painted in their Countenances. But Macro, still intrepid, ordered a Weight of Cloaths to be laid upon the Bed, and the Room to be cleared. Thus stissed, he expired in the seventy-eighth Year of his Age. But Dio adds to this Account of Tacitus, that he was first denied all Nourishment by the Command of Caius, and afterwards stissed; that Macro was particularly assistant in this Affair, who had for some Time devoted himself to Caius, and even drawn him into an Intrigue with his own Wife Ennia Thrasylla.

TIBERIUS reigned twenty-two Years feven Months and seven Days from the Death of Augustus. Character differs greatly in the different Stages of his Life. While he was a private Person, or commanded under Augustus, he was not without a confiderable Share of Reputation. While GER-MANICUS and Drusus were in being, he played the Hypocrite with much Art, pretending to Virtues which he was an utter Stranger to. Afterwards, to the Death of his Mother, he seems to have discovered in his Composition a pretty equal Mixture of Good and Evil. During the Time that Sejanus was the Object of his Love or Hatred, his Tyranny was most detestable; but he took some Care to cover VOL. I. his

TIBERIVS.

his Debaucheries. But on his Removal also, bidding adieu to Fear and Shame, he gave himself up entirely to an insatiate Avarice, an Excess of Cruelty, and the most abandoned Lust. He left by Will Tiberius Geminus, his own Grandson by Drusus; and Caius Caligula, his Grandson by the Adoption of Germanicus; his Coheirs.

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CAIUS CÆSAR GERMANICUS. furnamed CALIGULA.

VAIUS CESAR GERMANICUS, commonly called CALIGVEA. CALIGULA, attended the Body of TIBERIUS to Rome, and performed his Obsequies, speaking the funeral Oration himself with great Magnificence. He then produced the last Will of the Deceased before the Senate, which was immediately declared void, and himself saluted Emperor, with the joyful Acclamations of all Ranks and Orders of Men, who expected every Thing great and good from the Son of GERMANICUS, whose Memory was held in the highest Estimation: and the Beginning of his Reign gave Countenance to their warmest Hopes.

He readily paid to the People and the Soldiery, the Legacies left to them by Julia Augusta and his Predecessor, heightened with large Donations from himself. This procured him the Reputation of being liberal. His Adlocution to the Prætorian Cohorts on this Occasion is celebrated on the Re-

Cohorts on this Occasion is celebrated on the RePl. XV. 6. verse of one of his Coins, where sour StandardBearers appear with their Commander at their Head,
and the Emperor on his Suggestum, risen from his
Seat, and in a speaking Attitude, with ADLOCVTio
COHortium. All the Titles, with which Augusrus had been honoured, he received in one Day,
deferring, for a Time only, that of Father of his
Country. His Piety towards his deceased Father,
Mother, and Brothers, and his Grandmother AnTONIA, was very commendable. On several of his

Coins we find the Head of the first, particularly on the Medal of Gold referred to, with the Title GERMANICVS CAESAR Pater Caii CAESaris AVGusti GERManici; on the other Side, the laureate Head of the Emperor, with C. CAES. AVG. GERM. Pontifex Maximus TR. POT. His De-

Pl. XV. 8, 9. narius agrees with this exactly. The same Honours were paid to him in the Colonies; but in the Coins struck there the curious Reader will observe Pl. XV. 10. both Heads to be laureated. His other Denarius,

in Honour of his Mother Agrippina, represents

her hollow-eyed and emaciated, as if intended to CALIGVLA. describe her tragical End. One of his first Cares, after his Accession, was to fetch in Person the Remains of his Mother, and his Brother Nero, from Pandataria, which he conveyed to Rome with great Reverence and Regard, and placed in the Mausoleum of Augustus. His Grandmother An-TONIA he honoured with the Titles of Augusta. and Priestess of the deified Augustus, and with all the Privileges which LIVIA or JULIA had before enjoyed. On her Denarius we fee her Head crowned with a Wreath of Ears of Corn, with the Title ANTONIA AVGVSTA; and on the Reverse two Torches, with SACERDOS DIVI AVGVSTI. We have also a Medal of Gold, whereon her Head is honoured with the same Inscription, and decorated with the same symbolical Crown, bearing on the Reverse a female Figure, representing Constancy or Firmness, holding in the left Hand a Cornucopiæ, and in the right a Spear, crowned with a burning Torch, and around it CONSTANTIAE Pl. XV. 12. AVGVSTI. His pretended Affection to his Sifters was equally remarkable. These were AGRIPPINA, DRUSILLA, and Julia, the last being called also LIVIA and LIVILLA. On them he conferred the Honours and Privileges of the Vestals, and Seats next himself at the Equestrian Games; and ordered

Pl. XV. II.

that

CALIGVIA. that the Vows, made annually by the Magistrates and Pontifs for the Prosperity of himself and the Republic, and the Oath taken to him, should respect them also. We have accordingly the Figures of these Ladies on one of his Coins of the first Pl. XV. 13. Magnitude, distinguished by their Names, though appearing under the Characters of Constancy, CONCORD, and FORTUNE, as then known by their peculiar Attributes. The first leans upon the flanding Column, the fecond holds out the Patera, and the third the Helm of Government, and each of them has her Cornucopiæ: underneath S. C. Full of Moderation, he professed to burn in public all the Papers relating to the Profecution of his Mother and Brothers, with a Protestation that he had not read them; forbad any Statues to be erected to him; declared that he would only share the Empire with the Senate, and act entirely by their Advice, whose Son and Pupil he acknowledged himfelf to be. His Speech was fo gracious, that the Senate decreed a Repetition of it yearly for his Honour, and as much for their own Security. He was then in his five-and-twentieth Year. He released all Prisoners of State, discouraged Informers, and quashed at once all treasonable Prosecutions, which the City was full of. And to this we judge

the Medal, struck by Order of the Senate and Peo-

ple,

Pl. XV. 14.

ple, to be owing, which bears his laureate Head, CALIGVLA. with C. CAESAR AVG. GERMANICVS PON. M. TR. POT.: the Reverse has a civic Crown, inclosing S. P. Q. R. Patri Patriæ OB CIVES SERVATOS. To the Magistrates he allowed a free Jurisdiction without Appeal; recalled the Exiles, and revoked the Edict of Tiberius against prohibited Books.

With great Applause therefore he entered on his first Consulate in July, having his Uncle CLAUDIUS for his Colleague, and held the Fasces a little more than two Months. Now, habited in the Robe of Triumph, with great Pomp he dedicated the Temple of Augustus, the Youth of both Sexes, and the noblest Families, singing an Hymn in the Procession. His triumphal Car was drawn by fix Horses. On this Occasion he treated the Senators, their Ladies, and the People, exhibiting Concerts of Music, Horse-racing, Encounters with wild Beasts from Africa, and the Trojan Exercise. The Medal struck for this Celebration has on one Side a Piety feated, and extending her Arm, which holds the Patera. There is a small Statue behind her. In the Exergue, PIETAS. The Inscription is C. CAESAR AVG. GERMANICVS P. M. TR. POT. On the other Side is represented the Temple itself, with Pl. XV. 15. the proper Sacrifice of a Steer, the Priest and Mi-

La duranci.

nisters.

CALIGVEA. nifters attending. In the Area, DIVO AVG. S. C. The Reader will observe a Difference between this Temple of Casus and the other, which we have already given, of TIBERIUS. This was struck when the Temple was entirely finished and consecrated, and probably after it had received feveral Alterations and Improvements upon the original Plan; but that shews it in the Form which himself had given, or intended to give it. This Medal however, from the Want of the COS. must have been struck in Readiness, before he took Possession of the Fasces. Another, which feems to have been struck with an Eve to the same Occasion afterwards, bears his Head plain, with this Addition to the Title. C. CAESAR AVG. GERM, P. M. TR. POT. COS. On the Reverse is the Effigies of TIBERIUS, wearing a radiated Crown between two Stars.

> Great Complaints having been made of Pontius Pilate, for his Cruelties to the Samaritans and Tews, he had been fent to Rome by L. Vitellius, Governor of Syria; and Marcellus was this Year. commissioned to succeed him.

> Agrippa, the Grandson of Herod, had been set at Liberty by CAIUS, and was now gratified with the Territory which his Uncle Philip had enjoyed, together with the regal Title, to which he afterwards added the Tetrarchy of Herod. He restored Antiochus

Pl. XV. 16.

Antiochus to his paternal Kingdom of Commagene, CALIGVI. A. adding to it the Coast of Cilicia, with an immense Gratuity of Money: and a Fire happening at Rome. he followed the Example of TIBERIUS, indemnifying the Sufferers. But in the Midst of that Ease and Comfort which the Romans promifed themselves the Continuance of, from the Lenity of his Government, the Emperor was feized with a dangerous Sickness, imputed to his dissolute Course of Life. This created a dreadful Alarm throughout the Empire. At Rome the People were in a Manner diftracted. Day and Night the Palace was furrounded with enquiring Multitudes. Vows were not only made, as usual, for his Recovery, but several Perfons gave public Notice, that they devoted their own Lives for his. Great therefore were the Rejoicings and Thanksgivings for his actual Recovery. Victims out of Number were offered, and Coins struck, bearing his laureate Head, with the usual Inscription, and having on the Reverse the SALVS That which we give the Reader is a AVGVSTA. municipal Coin, with the Names of the Duumviri of the Place. But this proved far from being falutary to the Public; fince from this Time he commenced the most inhuman Tyrant that ever swayed a Sceptre, inverting every Act of Power which had before procured Esteem. He adopted young TIBERIUS, VOL. I. and 3 G

Pl. XV. 17.

CALIGVEA. and declared him Prince of the Youth: but prefently after, on Pretence that he had wished his Death, sent him an Order to dispatch himself. His Love to his Sisters was observed to have degenerated into notorious and shameless Incest with every one of them. All those who had been any way concerned against his Family were put to Death at different Times, not one excepted. His Deference to the Senate changed into professed Enmity. The recalled Exiles he imprisoned and executed. Those banished by himself suffered the same Fate. His Grandmother ANTONIA was either poisoned by his Order, or forced to put an End to her own Life. Macro, to whom he owed his own Safety and Advancement, underwent the same Treatment, with his Wife, Children, and their whole Houshold. Silanus, his Father-in-law, perished in the same Manner. Those who had devoted themselves for him in his Illness, were compelled to fulfil the Vow. It were tedious and irksome to recount the many Instances of his Cruelty. He revived the Law of Majesty, and seemed to delight in Blood, very commonly attending the Executions in Person, and obliging Parents to be prefent, and behold with their Eyes the merciless Barbarities inflicted on their unhappy Children. But nothing can fo fully evince the Immanity of his Disposition, as that execrable 10 1) 1 Wish,

Wish, "Oh! that the Roman People had but one CALIGVLA. "Neck!" His Inclination to quarrel with the Senate grew every Day more apparent. Servile as they were become, they were the only Check on his Proceedings. This once-venerable Body had of late rejected the Constitutions of Tiberius, and fworn only to the Observance of those of Augustus and CAIUS. They had on very many other Occafions expressed their Abhorrence of his Memory. This had been very pleafing to CAIUS hitherto. But now he took upon him to inveigh bitterly against the Insolence of those who dared to reflect upon their late Lord and Emperor; that it shewed him what himself was to expect hereafter; that to themselves only was the Cruelty of Tiberius to be imputed, who could not refift the Evidence of fuch a Number of Accusers; for themselves had been the Clients of Sejanus, and the Informers against his Mother and Brothers. Thus it became alike dangerous to praise or to condemn the former Measures.

On the Decease of his Sister Drusilla, he honoured her Remains with a public Funeral; Lepidus, who was her last Husband, for she had been before married to Cassius Longinus, pronouncing her Eulogy, and the Prætorian Guards, the Equestrian Order, and the Patrician Youth with their Trojan Exercise, CALIGVEA.

Exercise, making their Evolution in separate Bodies round the Pile. All that had been conferred on LIVIA was decreed to her, with the Addition of a Confecration. Her Effigies of Gold was to stand in the Senate House, and a Statue of Venus, exactly of her Size, to be placed in the Forum, and worshipped in her Name; that a peculiar Temple should be erected to her, and her Statues adored by both Sexes; that the Ladies should swear by her, whenfoever it should be necessary for them to make Oath; that public Games, like the Megalenfian, should be celebrated on her Birth-day, and an Entertainment given to the Senators and Equestrians. Thenceforth she was called Panthea (says Dio) and divine Honours were every where paid to her. No Coins however, that I have heard of, distinguish her by this Name. But we have her Figure, with the Name DRUSILLA; on the Reverse of which is a Caduceus, inclosed in a Wreath, in the Pembrokian Collection. And Vaillant describes a Coin of the fecond Size, struck at Miletus, bearing her Head, with the Infcription ΘΕΑ ΔΡΟΥΣΙΛΛΑ ΜΙΛΗΣΙΩΝ. Oath was made by Livius Geminius, a Senator, that he saw her ascend into Heaven, and converse with the Gods, imprecating Perdition to himself and his Children, if he uttered a Falshood, and calling the Gods, and amongst them DRUSILIA herself, to bear Witness

Witness to the Truth of what he said. Most un- CALIGVLA. happy was it to be subject to the Caprice of this fanciful Tyrant. For to express Joy or Sorrow on this Occasion was equally dangerous; fince not to lament her as dead, and to lament her as being now a Goddess, was alike criminal. Yet his own Grief was excessive. He quitted the City suddenly by Night, and hastily passing through Campania, retired to Sicily. Thence he returned, with his Hair and Beard grown long; and ever after, in the Affemblies of the People and the Soldiery, accustomed himself to swear by the Deity of DRU-SILLA. His other two Sisters, Julia and AGRIPPINA, he afterwards condemned to Banishment, as guilty of Adultery and Treason with Lepidus above-mentioned, who loft his Head for the Plot, whether real or pretended. We have the Figure of the former of these, struck at Mytilene, with the Inscription IOYAIAN NEAN TEPMANIKOY, i. e. Julia the Younger, Daughter of GERMANICUS. In the Area, MYT, for the Myteleneans. On the Reverse, CALI-GULA stands veiled; the Legend is Γ. KAICAPA. CEBASTON. In the Area the same Letters, intimating the Veneration paid by that People to both the Emperor and his Sifter. The Reader will obferve here, that the first and the fifth Letter, in the Word Sebaston, are differently formed, though the fame;

Pl. XV. 13.

CALIGVLA.

fame; but what is more extraordinary, one of the fame Coins, in the Cabinet of Verfailles, quoted by Vaillant, has in both Words the fame Letter thus formed Σ . How to account for this, otherwise than by the Inadvertence of the Copiers, I know not.

The Emperor now took upon him the Confulship a second Time, and held it for thirty Days only, L. APRONIVS CAESIANVS being his Colleague. This had nearly occasioned the Death of DOMITIVS AFER, an Orator of high Repute, who wrote an Epigram, which he inscribed on the Pedestal of the Emperor's Statue, wherein he complimented him as having been twice Conful before he had compleated his twenty-fixth Year. This however was perversely interpreted by Califula as a Piece of Satire, which reflected on his Youth, and charged him with a Breach of the Laws. To shew therefore his superior Parts (for he was proud of being thought an excellent Speaker) he accused him in Person; and the Orator with great Address turned it to his own Advantage. For, instead of exerting his own Talents in his Defence, he pretended to be struck with such Astonishment on hearing the Emperor's invincible Eloquence, fo far beyond all that he had hitherto conceived, that he called it Madness to attempt an Answer. He therefore threw himself at his Feet, confessing the Charge, and and imploring Pardon with many Tears; intimating, CALIGVLA. that the Power of fuch Eloquence was more to be dreaded than that of his Authority. He was fo taken with this Sort of Adulation, that he not only forgave, but rewarded him with the Confulate in the Course of the same Year. For those who bore the Fasces, having neglected, on the Morning of his Birth-day, to fignify to the People that, as fuch, it was a Festival, he took great Offence thereat; objecting to them also, that they had celebrated the Actiac Victory of Augustus, to the Disgrace of his Ancestor Marc Antony, whose Defeat flowed from it. For these Reasons he broke their Fasces, and displaced them; with the Indignity of which one of them was fo moved, that he put an End to his own Life.

Of all the frantic Proceedings of Caius, none favoured more of Madness than his building a Bridge, composed of a double Row of Ships, strongly connected and planked over, from Baiæ to Puteoli, a Distance of more than three Miles. Over this he rode in Triumph. Here he spent a Day and a Night, feasting his Attendants with great Pomp, not intermitting however his usual Cruelties. For, in the Midst of his Intemperance, Multitudes were by his Command cast into the Sea, a great Part of whom miserably perished. Even those, whom this extraordinary

CALIGVEA. extraordinary Spectacle could not draw from home, felt the ruinous Consequence of it, a Famine being introduced at Rome by the Detention of fuch a Number of Ships, which had otherwise been employed in the Conveyance of Corn to that Capital. By this and such like Extravagancies, the vast Sums amassed by Tiberius were entirely dissipated. All possible Means of Exactions were then made Use of to recruit his Finances. Scarce any Thing was heard of but Murders and Confiscations of the Wealthy. Every Commodity was loaded with Duties. Labour itself was taxed; but all sufficed not. His Palace became a common Stew, and the Wages of this Iniquity were paid into his own Hands. Italy being by such Methods exhausted, he turned his Eyes towards the Provinces. L. Vitellius, the Proconful of Syria, was faid to be immensely rich: he was therefore recalled in order to Execution. But the cunning Flatterer appeared before him veiled, and in the Guise of a Suppliant, turned himfelf round, and then fell prostrate on his Face before him. This was the Mode of Supplication to the Gods. It procured the Idolater Pardon and Esteem, and, perhaps, infused into Casus the first Notion of causing himself to be worshipped as a Deity. He then let out for Gaul, at the Head of a very numerous Army, under Pretence of warring against

against the Germans, but, in Fact, with Design to CALIGVLA. plunder the Province. He passed the Rhine without Sight of an Enemy, erected a Trophy, and then recroffed in Mock-Triumph. But what he dared not to exact in Germany, he extorted from the Provincials with Impunity. There to be accused of Opulence was High Treason. All who laboured under this heavy Charge were executed without Mercy, and their Effects seized for the Use of the Emperor. The confiscated Estates were fold, and others compelled to purchase them at his own extravagant Valuation. In the same shameful Manner he exposed to Sale even the Imperial Robes, and the rich Furniture of his Palace, brought thither for that Purpose; still acting in the mean Time with a Profusion at least equal to his Extortions. For these Exploits an Ovation was decreed to him at Home, and a Deputation fent to acquaint him with the intended Honour. But while he was preparing to leave the Country, the Germans invaded it, but received a severe Repulse under the Conduct of GALBA, afterwards Emperor, the sole Credit of which Carus assumed to himself, writing to the Senate a pompous Detail of his Successes.

His Marriages were as extraordinary as the rest of his Proceedings. His first Wife, the Daughter Vol. I. 3 H of

CALIGVEA. of Silanus, he divorced. Being invited afterwards to the Wedding of C. Piso, he took a Fancy to the Bride, whom he ordered to the Palace, and detained for his own Use. This was LIVIA (or, according to Dio, Cornelia) Orestilla. The next Day he gave out that a fuitable Match had been found for him, after the Examples of ROMULUS and AUGUSTUS. But in less than two Months he dismissed her also; and, under Pretence of her being intimate with her Husband Piso, banished them both. After the Death of DRUSILLA, hearing that the Grandmother of LOLLIA PAULINA had in her Time been an exceeding fine Woman, he fent for the Granddaughter, though she was at that Time the Wife of C. Memmius, a Person of Consular Rank, and at the Head of an Army, and kept her to himself: but her too he soon divorced, forbidding her the Knowledge of any other Man. His last Wife, Cæsonia, though neither beautiful nor. young, but luxurious and lascivious to the last Degree, and withal the Mother of three Children by another Husband, he treated with more Constancy and Affection; frequently shewed her to the Army on Horseback by his Side, and armed as an Amazon, as he did sometimes to his Favourites in private naked. She was then with Child, and the same Day that she was brought to Bed he acknowledged himself

himself her Husband, and the Father of the Child. CALIGVLA. To the Infant he gave the Name of Julia Dru-SILLA, carried it to the Temples of the several Goddesses, and placed it in the Lap of Minerva, to whose Care and Tuition he recommended it. At the same Time he made free with other Women. noble or ignoble, married or fingle, with all Licentiousness, being neither sparing of his own, nor any other Person's, Modesty. The former were generally invited to Supper with their Husbands, and confidered with Attention, as they passed leifurely before him for that Purpose, and, as they happened to please, were afterwards called aside. In these Interviews he was curious to examine their private Blemishes or Beauties, which he reported to the Company without Scruple at his Return.

He was at Lyons, in Gaul, on his Way homeward, when he entered into his third Consulate alone, his intended Colleague dying just at the Time that he was to assume the Fasces. But this Honour he resigned at the End of twelve Days, when L. Gellius Poblicola and M. Cocceius Nerva were advanced to that high Office. On the last Day of August, his Birth-day, he entered Rome with an Ovation, to the great Terror of the Senators, whom he had grievously threatened, and whose Destruction he certainly intended. To soothe him by slat-

CALIGVLA.

Pl. XV. 19.

tering his pretended Successes, Denarii were struck by the joint Decree of the Senate and People, exhibiting his laureate Head and Titles at large, C. CAESAR AVG. PON. M. TR. POT. III. COS. III; with a civic Crown on the Reverse, inclosing, as before, S. P. Q. R. OB C. S. Medals Pl. XVI. I. of Gold were also struck with the same Head and Inscription, having for the Reverse the radiated Head of Augustus, and DIVVS AVG. PATER

PATRIAE.

But the first Victim to his Rage and Avarice was his own near Kinsman Ptolemy, King of MAURITA-NIA, whom he had invited to Rome. He was the Son of the younger Juba, by Selene the Daughter of Antony and CLEOPATRA. His great Wealth was probably the Gause of his Ruin, which brought on the Defection of his Kingdom. We have a small Silver Coin of this unhappy Prince, which was found in Africa, and presented to Torrentius, who has published it in his Notes upon Suetonius. His Head is incircled with the Diadem, and round it PTOLEMAEVS REX. There is a Palm-Tree on the Reverse, and under it RAX. Another of the same Sort is in the valuable Pembrokian Collection, in which the last Letter on the Reverse wants one of the Strokes of the X.

Pl. XVI. 2.

About this Time a strange Accident reconciled him





him to the Senate. He had a principal Favourite, CALIGVIA. named Protogenes, who used to carry about with him his two Pocket-Books, the one entitled The Sword, and the other The DAGGER. This Man, having entered the Senate-House, as on other Business, was immediately addressed by the Members, who were all eager to speak to, and shake Hands with, him; when observing Scribonius Proculus with the rest, "What," said he, sternly, "are you " here too, the Emperor's inveterate Enemy, with "your Salutations?" The Words were no fooner uttered than the whole Body of the Senators fell upon him, and tore him Limb from Limb. And this Sacrifice was fo pleafing to the Emperor, that he declared himself satisfied with them. In Return for this gracious Declaration, they decreed a lofty Throne for him in the very Senate-House, and that a military Guard should attend him there. Some stiled him an Hero or Demi-god, others a Divinity: with which Titles he was inflated to a Degree of Madness. For before this he had been too apt to fancy himself more than Man; that he had a connubial Connection with the Moon, and had been crowned by the Goddess Victory; pretended to be Jupiter himself, and acted all his shameful and incestuous Intrigues. At other Times he was Juno, Diana, or Venus, and on such Occafions

CALIGVEA. casions appeared in their proper Habits. Sometimes with the Bowl and Thyrsus he was Bacchus, and then again personated Hercules with his Club and Lion's Skin; now bearded as Jupiter, then beardless as Apollo; appeared with a Trident now, then brandishing his Thunder; next he was the Warrior-Virgin, and varied his Appearances fo often, as shewed him willing to be any Thing but what he really was: and in these different Habiliments he fuffered Supplications, Vows, and Sacrifices, to be offered before him as to a present Deity. He erected a Temple to himself in Rome, in which was placed his Statue of Gold, and a separate Mansion in the Capitol, that he might the more freely converse with his Brother Jupiter. He appointed Priests for himself, which Honour he sold at a most extravagant Rate, and Cæsonia was his Priestess; nay, he became his own Priest, and made his Horse Incitatus his Colleague, intending also to make him Consul. The most delicate and costly Birds were facrificed to him daily. He had a Machine wherewith he imitated Thunder and Lightning, which he returned for that which came from above, faying, "Take me off, or I will " take thee;" and was once heard to whisper Jupiter, that "he would fend him back again to Greece:" a Folly not to be credited but upon the concurrent Testimony

Testimony of all Historians. He was worshipped CALIGVLA. in all the Provinces except one. The People of Ilium stamped his Busto on their Coins opposite to that of Augustus, and both raised on Brackets, as those of the Gods were, with the Inscription FAIOC KAICAP ΘΕΟC AΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ, and underneath CE-BACTOI. On one Side of the Reverse is a female Pl. XVI. 3. Head turrited, representing the City of Rome, which they have also deified with the Title of OEA POMH. The Figure, which represents the Roman Senate on Coins, is fometimes Male, and fometimes Female. Here it is the Head of a Man, and dignified with the Title of Sacred IEPA CYNKAHTOC. Between the two Figures stands the Statue of Pallas, with the Spear and Gorgon Shield, the Palladium of Ilium and of Rome, and under her Feet IAIaxwv. Nor were the Smyrneans behind in their Devotion, who have on their Coins regarded the Emperor and his Mother as their tutelary Deities. That before us gives his Head laureated, with the Title FAION KAICAPA FEPMANIKON. EIII AOYIOAA, i. e. Under Aviola, he being Proconful. The Reverse shews both their Heads adverse. The Legend is a little defaced. What remains is applition SMTP-NAIWN, with the Addition of ΜΗΝΟΦΑΝΗΣ, the Name of the Prætor. The Jews were the only People who ventured to incur his high Displeasure,

Pl. XVI. 4.

CALIGULA. on this Occasion. They refused to admit his Statues into the Temple of Ferusalem. Orders had been therefore fent to Petronius Turpilianus, who succeeded L. Vitellius in the Government of Syria, to make War upon them; and all Things were now in Readiness for their Chastisement. But by the Interest and Intercession of King Agrippa, who was exceedingly respected by Carus, and by the Moderation of Petronius, this Evil was with great Difficulty deferred, and at length entirely prevented by the Tyrant's Death.

> Dio Cassius and Suetonius, in their Descriptions of this Reign, have brought all the good Measures of CAIUS into one View, and comprised them in that Compass of Time which passed between the Death of his Predecessor and his first Consulate: all Things afterwards being fet down as execrably Thus in the latter Historian we find recorded, as in the Beginning of his Reign, the Remission of a Tax in these Words of the Grævian Edition, Centesimam austionum Italiæ remist. For the better understanding of this we must remark, that after the Civil Wars, Augustus, for the Support of a Military Fund which he had instituted, levied, what we may properly call the hundredth Penny, upon all Sums raised from the Sale of Effects by Auction throughout all Italy. This Burthen

was much felt and complained of. But when after- CALIGVEA. wards Tiberius had by his Mother Livia inveigled old Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, to Rome, put him to Death, and reduced his Dominions to a Roman Province, he declared, according to Tacitus. that the additional Revenues of it would enable him to take off one Half of this Duty. This was done accordingly; and from that Time the two-hundredth Penny only was exacted. True it is, that Dio affirms the same Emperor, after the Death of Sejanus, to have repented of this Diminution, and raised it again to its original Value. If this be fo, it is evident that it was again reduced as before, notwithstanding the Silence of the Historians. For we have a Coin of Califula; which proves, beyond all Contradiction, that at this Time, and not sooner, he abolished the Duty of the two-bundreth Penny. For the Reverse calls him PON M TR P IIII PP COS TERT. Pontifex Maximus Tribunitiæ Potestatis quarto Consul tertio; and in the Centre of it we read R C C, Remissa Ducentesima. Hence it is plain, that Lipfius, Gravius, and other Critics, were mistaken, and that the Manuscripts and Editions, not few in Number, which have Ducentesimam in this Passage of Suetonius, are right, and that the Place of Dio, in 1. 58, which gave Occasion to the Alteration, τέλος την έκατος ης κατέλυσε, should be read VOL. I. τελος

Pl. XVI. 5.

CALIGVEA. Τελος διακοσιος ης χατέλυσε. This shews the Utility of ancient Coins for the Ascertainment of disputed Passages of History: For these Testimonies are infallible and decifive.

> He now took the Fasces a fourth Time, in Conjunction with Sentius Saturninus, which he held but to the seventh of the Ides of Fanuary, and then substituted Q. Pomponius Secundus. A Conspiracy to take him off was now entered into by Cassius Chærea, Sabinus, Papinius, Tribunes of the Prætorian Guards, with other Officers, Senators, and some of his own Houshold. Chærea was a Soldier of the old Stamp, brave and intrepid; but having an effeminate Voice, had on all Occasions been made the Subject of the Emperor's Ridicule. When he came for the Parole, or Military Word, he would commonly give him Cupid, Venus, or some obscene Term, reflecting on his Manhood and Courage. This excited a Spirit of Revenge; and all of them were strongly inflamed with a Defire of rescuing their Country from that Excess of Slavery under which it laboured. The Time fixed for the Affaffination was the Celebration of the Festival of Augustus, which began upon the Twenty-first of the fame Month, when public Shews and Spectacles were to be exhibited in the Palace. It was not. doubted but he would expose himself then, as he

had always taken great Delight in, and expended CALIGVLA. immense Sums on, such Entertainments. On the third Day of the Sports, they determined to defer it no longer; and observing him to leave the Theatre, to look upon some noble Youths sent to him out of Greece and Ionia, for the Purpose of singing in Concert an Hymn composed by himself, they attacked him in the Passage on his Return, and laid him dead, with many Wounds. His Wise and Daughter were put to Death soon after.

He was tall, and of the largest Size. His Neck and Legs were long and slender, his Aspect pale, his Eyes and Temples hollow, the Hair of his Head thin, and the Crown of it bald; but his Beard was thick; his Forehead broad and stern; and he studied to make his Countenance as terrible as might be, even practifing at the Glass for that Purpose. With all his Faults, he was a good Speaker, and well versed in the Greek and Roman Learning, yet unaccountably purposed to destroy the Works of Homer, Virgil, and Livy. He said that the second was a Man of no Ingenuity, and very little Learning; and the last a prolix and negligent Historian. He had been subject in his Youth to the Falling-Sickness; and is said to have been disordered by a stimulating Potion given to him by Cæsonia. He never flept more than three Hours in a Night, and

CALIGVEA. was then disturbed with strange visionary Fancies, and frightful Dreams. To this Weakness of Body and Mind his Biographer ascribes those Contrarieties which were evident in him at different Scasons, the greatest Boldness, and an immoderate Fearfulness. He died at the Age of twenty-nine Years, having reigned, according to Dio Cassius, three Years, nine Months, and twenty-eight Days; but according to Suetonius, three Years, ten Months, and eight Days. public Works of Utility were few. He finished the Temple of Augustus, and the Theatre of POMPEY. He began two Aquæducts, one of them mentioned only by Feratinus, which were compleated by his Successor. He made several Harbours upon the Coast more commodious for the Reception of the Corn Ships from the East, and repaired the Walls and Temples of Syracuse. He had resolved to open the Ishmus of Corinth, and join the two Seas; to build a City on the Summit of the Alps; to restore the Palace of Polycrates at Samos; and to finish the Temple of the Didymean Apollo at Miletus. these Schemes proved abortive by his Death. The last however gave Occasion to the striking of a Coin of the third Size, by the Milesians, which bears his Head, with the Infcription ΑΥΤοπρατωρ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΓΑΙΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟ CEBACTOC; on the Reverse of which stands the naked Figure of the Didymean Apollo, there worshipped, which, Pliny says, was the Work of Caligula. Canacus the Sicyonian, with the Legend ΔΙΔΥΜΕΥΣ ΜΙΛΗΣΙΩΝ. Patin observes, that Sabellicus takes this Passage of Suetonius to be intended of the Temple of Cybele, the Didymean or rather Dindymean Mother, which he could not have done, if he had seen this Coin. Apollo was called Didymeus, or the Twin, because born with Diana at a Birth. On the Death of Caligula, his Statues were demolished, and his Copper Coins (out of which were afterwards formed the Statues of Messalina, melted down; so that, instead of complaining that we have so few of them, it is rather to be wondered that we have so many.



TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS CÆSAR.

CLAVDIVS.

The Death of Caius, the Confuls fummoned the Senate to meet in the Capitol, where they spent the rest of the Day, and the whole Night, in fruitless Debate; some declaring for a Monarchy, others for the Restoration of the Commonwealth. Meantime some Soldiers, entering the Palace for Plunder, sound Claudius, who through Fear had conceased himself in a Corner, and conveyed him to the Camp, where he was declared Emperor by the Prætorian Cohorts. The Manner of his Creation was expressed in Medals both of Gold and Silver. He appears within the Walls of the Camp, with

with an Enfign before him, and over the Gates CLAVDIVS. IMPERio RECEPTo. The Confuls, depending Pl. XVI. 6. upon their own Authority, and that of the Senate, and supported by the City Guards, had charged him by the popular Tribunes not to aim at the Empire, but to submit himself to the People, the Senate, and the Laws; but the City Guards afterwards, and the People in general, joining with the Prætorians, the Imperial Authority was unanimously conferred upon him. Thus TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS NERO GERMANICUS, the Son of DRUSUS, and the Grandson of Livia, became Emperor, in the fiftieth Year of his Age. His Reception by the Prætorians is likewise expressed on the Reverse of another Medal, by the Figure of an Aquilifer, or Eagle- Pl. XVI. 7. Bearer, taking him by the Hand, whose Head and Shoulders are covered with a Lion's Skin. Figure of CLAUDIUS, the ancient Roman Habit is very conspicuous, as is the Occasion of it in the Legend PRAETORianis RECEPTus.

He had a Body full of Infirmities, with a shaking Head, trembling Hands, and a faultering Voice. Having spent all his Time amongst the Women and Freedmen, he had nothing liberal in his Behaviour; but, in the Height of Power, was a Slave to his own Servants. And being much addicted to Wine and Women, he gave them many Opportunities of imposing

imposing upon him. He had also a natural Timi-

CLAVDIVS.

dity, which generally indisposed him for Counsel and Design; 'yet did many Things right, when composed for a Season, and disengaged from his Vices. He accepted all the Honours decreed him, except the Title of Father of his Country, which he deferred: but did not trust himself in the Senate for thirty Days. For hearing that they had judged many Persons more worthy of the Empire, he became extremely jealous; ordered all of either Sex, who approached him, to be fearched; and had always, even at his Meals, his Guards by him. Charea and a few more were executed for the late Conspiracy, for the Example's fake; but all the rest concerned were not only pardoned, but advanced to Places of Honour and Profit. Those, who without sufficient Cause had been banished by CAIUS, and amongst them AGRIP-PINA and Julia, he recalled and restored to their Effects. And fuch as had been imprisoned for Treason only were set at Liberty. This Clemency is celebrated by a Copper Medal of the first Size, the Inscription of which is TIberius CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVGustus Pontifex Maximus TRibunitia Potestate IMPerator Pater Patriæ, around his laureate Head. The Reverse has a Civic Wreath, inclosing EX SC PP OB CIVES SERVATOS, i. e. Ex Senatûs Consulto Patri Patriæ.

Pl. XVI. 8.

His Piety to his Ancestors he evidenced by the CLAVDIVS. Institution of Equestrian Games on the Birthdays of his Father Drusus and his Mother An-TONIA. On which Occasion we see his own laureate Head stamped, with the same Inscription as above, and a triumphal Arch on the Reverse, on which is Drusus on Horseback, between two Trophies; the Legend NERO CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMANicus IMPerator. Another has the Head of ANTONIA AVGVSTA, and on the Reverse the Emperor standing in his Pontifical Habit, having the Sympulum in his right Hand; on the Verge, TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. PM. TR PIMP. S C. And on a Greek Coin we have his laureate Head, with ΤΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΓΕΡΜ. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ, i. e. Tiberius Claudius Germanicus Augustus; and on the Reverse both the Heads of DRUSUS and ANTONIA; over the first ΔΡΟΥΣΟΣ ΓΕΡ, Drusus Germanicus; and under the latter, which is veiled, for she had been the Priestess of Augustus, ANTΩNIA. Befides the fame Honour paid to his Grandmother LIVIA, he ranked her amongst the Gods, dedicated her Effigies in the Temple of Augustus, committed the Care of her Rites to the Vestals, and commanded that the Women should swear by her Name. Hence we have her Figure, with the Title ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ, Dea Augusta. But by what City these Vol. I. 3 K

Pl. XVI. 9.

Pl. XVI. 10.

Pl. XVI. 11.

Pl. XVI. 12.

CLANDINS these two Greek Coins were struck, is uncertain.

> To himself he prohibited the Payment of all religious Honours, suffering only one Statue of Silver, and two more, of Brass and Marble, to be erected to him, as had been decreed at first. He would not permit the Prætors to give any Shews of Gladiators, as usual; and if any other Persons defired it, he forbad their doing it on his Account. To the Consuls in Senate he behaved with Condescension, rising to meet them. The Custom of offering New-Year's-Gifts to the Emperor he abolished; nor suffered any one to name him his Heir, who had Relations of his own. He even restored many Legacies which had been left to his two Predecessors. The Fews, in which Denomination the Christians were included, he expelled from Rome. In the Circus he exhibited a Race of twelve Camels, and as many Horses; after which three hundred Bears, and the same Number of wild Beasts from Africa, were flaughtered: prescribed particular Seats for the feveral Orders, and treated the Senators, together with their Wives, the Equestrians, and the Tribes.

> He restored to Antiochus his Kingdom of Commagene, which CAIUs had first given, and then taken from him. On Mithridates, the Iberian, he bestowed

the Kingdom of Bosphorus. He enlarged the Do- CLAVDIVS. minions of Agrippa, who had affifted in his Advancement to the Empire; gave him Confular Honours; gratified his Brother Herod with the Prætorian Dignity, bestowed the Kingdom of Chalcis upon Libanus; and allowed them to enter the Senate, and receive public Thanks in the Greek Language for their Services. In return, the latter afterwards struck some Coins of the second Size, Pl. XVI. 13. with his own Head crowned with a Diadem. whereon he calls himself ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡΩΔης φιλομλαΥΔΙΟΣ, King Herod, the Lover of CLAUDIUS; the Reverse of which is surrounded with a Wreath of Olive, and inscribed ΚΛΑΥΔΙΩ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ET E. To CLAUDIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS, in the fifth Year. These were the laudable Actions of CLAU-DIUS himself; but far different were those of his Freedmen, and his Wife VALERIA MESSALINA; who, not thinking herself enough honoured by Julia, the Sifter of CAIUS, and jealous of her Beauty, got her first banished, on a Charge of Adultery and other Crimes, together with Seneca the Philosopher, and not long after put to Death.

CLAUDIUS accepted of triumphal Honours, which were pressed upon him by the Senate, for some late Successes in Mauritania. The same Year the Chatti were conquered by Sulpicius Galba, as were the

Mark

CLAVDIVS. Marsi (both German Nations) by P. Gabinius, who recovered the fole remaining Eagle, which had been lost at the Defeat of Varus. This realized to him the Title of Imperator. The following Year the Moors rose again, but were subdued by Suetonius Paulinus, who wasted their Country as far as to Mount Atlas. After him Sidius Geta gave two Defeats to their Commander Salubus, whom he purfued into the fandy Defarts, where the Army was near perishing for Want of Water, but relieved by a fudden Shower. From this Time Mauritania was divided into two Parts, the Tingitana and Cæsariensis, and governed by two Equestrians. The neighbouring Barbarians, infesting some Parts of Numidia, were subdued, and the whole Country settled in Peace.

> He was Conful the second Time with C. Largus, and continued fo for two Months only. He obliged others to fwear to the Acts of Augustus only, giving them Credit for his own; and, when he abdicated the Office, took the same Oath himfelf, as he did in all his other Confulships. At this Time the Number of Prætors was uncertain, but chiefly from fifteen to eighteen. He also appointed three Persons, of Prætorian Rank, to call in the Debts of the State, to whom he allowed Lictors and other Affistants.

As there was a Famine at Rome, the Emperor CLAVDIVS. provided fo wifely for Supplies of Corn, that it was little wanted for a long Time after. The Tiber having no convenient Harbour, he determined to make one at Oftia, though at an immense Expence, and compleated it with a Magnanimity worthy of the Roman Name. He dug away the Continent for a confiderable Space, and inclosed the Circuit with a firm Structure of Stone, for the Reception of the Sea. On both Sides of the Entrance he threw vast Moles into the Deep. In the Centre of the Harbour he raised an Island, and erected a Pharos upon it, with Lights to guide the Mariners by Night. NERO was defirous of arrogating to himself the Glory of this great Work; and it is to the Reverse of one of his Medals that we are indebted for the Figure of it. A huge Colossus crowns the Pharos, with a Spear in his left Hand, and holding up a Light, as Mr. Addison supposes, in his right. At the Entrance Neptune is figured in a reclining Posture, having in his right Hand a Rudder, and a Dolphin in his left, to denote his Dominion of the Sea. So providently careful therefore as this Emperor was to have the City well supplied with Bread, we cannot wonder to fee in so many of his Reverses the Figure of Ceres, distinguished by the Torch laid across her Lap, in a resting Attitude, and hold-

Pl. XVI. 14.

Pl. XVI. 15.

which was restored by the Emperor Titus, as appears from the Legend IMP. Titus VESPasianus AVGustus RESTituit: in the Exergue S. C. Senatus Consulto.

He obliged all Governors to depart for their Provinces before the Calends of April. Certain Equestrians he permitted to become Tribunes of the People, and obliged the rest, as often as called upon, to join the Senators. In other Respects he was easy and good-natured; would visit the Sick, and make one in the Festivities of Families. In the Senate, if the Members had stood up any Time, himself would rise up too. On the annual Day of his Creation, he only distributed an hundred Seftertii, (fixteen Shillings and one Penny three Farthings of our Money) to each of the Prætorian Soldiers. Such was his Moderation, that when his Son, called afterwards BRITANNICUS, was born, he permitted no extraordinary Title to be conferred either on him or his Mother. He fo constantly exhibited Combats of Gladiators, that it became his Failing. On fuch Occasions few Beasts were flaughtered, but many Combatants, either by them or by each other. Those Freedmen and Slaves, who under his Predecessors had contrived the Ruin of their Masters, or borne false Witness against them,

he treated with particular Severity, executing very CLAVDIVS. many, punishing others a different Way, and giving up the rest to the Mercy of their injured Masters; taking no small Delight himself in viewing the Destruction of those Wretches. Nor was he lefs pleased with the Murders of the Amphitheatre: so that he ordered a Shew of Gladiators to be exhibited annually at the Expence of those who should obtain the Quæstorship.

By thus accustoming himself to Blood and Slaughter, he became the more prone to Cruelty, though the Objects of it were furnished chiefly by the Rapaciousness of his Family, and of MESSALINA particularly. For when they had a Defign upon any one, they infused such Fears into the Mind of the weak Emperor, that, in the Height of his Consternation, he consented to any thing; and, when he came to himself, would often enquire for the very Persons whom he had doomed to Death; and, when informed of their Fate, would be exceedingly penitent and concerned. Thus fell C. Ap. Silanus, whom he had recalled from Spain, and married to the Mother of Messalina, because he refused to be subservient to the Lust of that most lascivious Empress. As no Crime could be imputed to him, Narcissus, the Emperor's Freedman, pretended that he had feen his Master slain by him in a Dream.

CLANDIVS. Dream. The Tale was exaggerated by MESSALINA

Pl. XVI. 16.

Pl. XVI. 17.

Pl. XVI. 18.

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for movingly, that an Order was iffued for his Execution. This filled all good Romans with doleful Apprehensions, and moved Vinicianus, and at his Instigation Camillus Scribonianus, then Governor of Dalmatia, and at the Head of a large Body of Forces, with many others, to conspire against him. But the Troops of Camillus refusing to concur with him, he fled to the Island of Isla, where he fell upon his own Sword. When CLAUDIUS had recovered from the Fright which this Conspiracy had thrown him into, he returned Thanks and large Presents to those Forces; and had the seventh and eleventh Legions, which had particularly distinguished themselves, denominated by the Senate the Claudian, the faithful, and the pious Legions. This is supposed to have given Occasion to the Reverse before us, whereon the two Legions are represented by their respective Eagles, though the seventh only be particularly mentioned. The twenty-second Legion also, settled in the Colony of Patræ, in the Peloponnesus, thought good to distinguish its Fidelity to CLAUDIUS by a Reverse of the like Nature, with an Eagle and two Enfigns, inscribed COLonia Aroe Augusta PATRensis XXII, and by another inscribed to his three Children, ANTONIA, OCTAVIA, and

BRITANNICUS, with LIBERIS AVGusti, and under-

neath

neath COL. A A P, as before. A severe Inquisition CLAVDIVS. was made of those concerned in the Conspiracy. Very many were put to Death, more died by their own Hands, and amongst them Vinicianus himself. MESSALINA and the Freedmen catched at the Occasion. They used even the Testimony of Slaves against their own Masters, however considerable for Rank or Quality. Even Patricians were put to the Torture, though CLAUDIUS had fworn that no Freeman should be subject to it. Many Women were imprisoned, executed, and exposed at the Gemonian Stairs; while some of the most guilty were excused on Account of Interest or Money, through the Interposition of MESSALINA, Narcissus, and their Affociates. The Children however of those who fuffered were unmolested, and some of them allowed their Fathers' Effects. Among the condemned was Cæcina Pætus, whom his Wife Arria manfully encouraged by stabbing herself first, then giving him the Dagger, and telling him, "It did not " hurt." Martial's Epigram on this Couple is too well known to be inferted. The Emperor was fo intent on vindictive Measures, that, for the Parole, he gave the following Passage of Homer, Odyss. 21, 1. 133.

> 'Ανδρ' απαμυνεσθαι, ότε τὶς πρότερος χαλεπηνη. T' expel the Man who first creates the Strife.

CLAVDIVS.

In his third Consulate he abolished many Sacrifices and Holydays; for they were before fo numerous, that they took up a large Part of the Year. to the great Prejudice of the Public. To the Rhodians he restored their Liberty. The Ilians he favoured with a perpetual Immunity from all Taxes. But the Lycians were stripped of their Privileges, for having flain some Roman Citizens in a Tumult, and their Country annexed to Pamphylia. While at Home the Roman Freedom, the Command of Armies, the Government of Provinces, and Offices of every Kind, were fet to Sale by the Empress and Freedmen in the most public and shameful Manner; whence all Commodities became so dear, that CLAUDIUS himself was forced to fix the Price of them. 1/10 0.75. 1/3

The libidinous Messalina, not to be single in her Way, forced many of the Sex into the same Immodesties, obliging them to practise their Adulteries even in the Presence of their own Husbands. Such of these last as proved obsequious were promoted to Honours and Dignities; while others, who could not let themselves down so low, were sure to suffer. And all, who were supposed either able or willing to make Discoveries to the Emperor, were taken off by Kindness or Death.

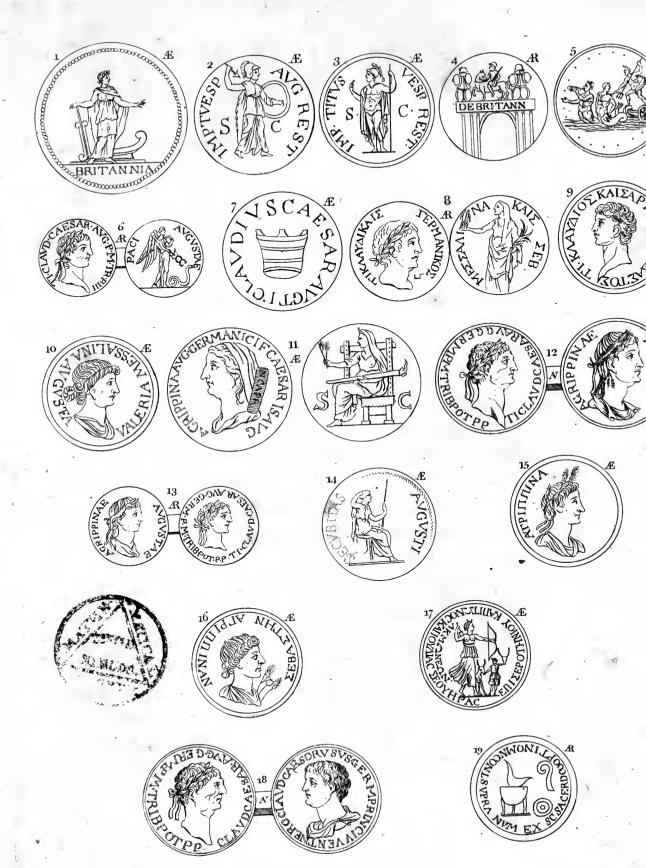
While these Things passed at Rome, A. Plautius,

a Senator of Eminence, led an Army into Britain, CLAVDIVS. one Beric, who for Sedition had been expelled the Island, persuading the Emperor to this Expedition. It was with Difficulty the General drew his Troops out of Gaul; who complained that they were fent to make War beyond the Limits of the World, and did all they could to retard the Motions of the Army. He failed however at last, and made good his Footing, defeating first Caractacus, and afterwards Togodumnus, the Sons of the late Cunobeline. A Part of the Boduni then furrendered. Leaving therefore a Garrison amongst them, he marched on to a certain River, on the farther Side of which the Britons were encamped, but in a careless Manner, as looking upon the River to be impassable. Plautius, fending out his German Troops, who were accustomed to pass the most rapid Rivers in Arms, he attacked them at unawares, and dispersed them. Next came Flavius Vespasian, afterwards-Emperor, and his Brother Sabinus, who also passing the River, flew many of the Britons by Surprize. Yet they stood their Ground, and fought a pitched Battle with the Romans the Day following, the Issue of which was doubtful, until C. Sidius Geta, who was very near being taken, gave fuch a Turn to the Action, that he was judged worthy of triumphal Honours, though no Consular., Thence

the

CLAVDIVS. the Britons betook themselves to the Mouth of the Thames, which they, well acquainted with the Depth and Footing, passed with Ease. But the Romans, endeavouring to follow, were in great Danger. But foon after, when the Germans had again swam across, and others had passed by a Bridge higher up in the Country, the Carnage was great. But inconfiderately pursuing the Fugitives, they entangled themselves in the marshy Grounds and Morasses, losing many of their Men. For these Reafons, and because the Britons, since the Death of Togodumnus, remitted nothing of their former Fierceness, but were more eager in their Preparations to revenge his Fall, the Apprehensions of Plautius disposed him to halt. Having therefore fecured the Country behind him, he fent to defire the Assistance of the Emperor in Person, having been charged fo to do, in case of any sinister Event.

> All Things were in Readiness, and even some Elephants provided for fuch an Expedition. CLAU-Dius therefore, leaving Vitellius, the Colleague of his third Consulate, at the Head of Affairs in Rome, fet out for Oftia, and sailed thence to Marfeilles; and fo making his Way partly by Sea, and partly by Land, he came to Gefforiacum, or Bulloign. Thence he passed into Britain, and marched immediately



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mediately to join the Forces which waited for him CLAVDIVS. on the Banks of the Thames. The Progress already made gave him Encouragement to expect a favourable Issue to the Enterprize. There are two Coins in the Gevartian Tables (quoted by Dr. Musgrave, in his Antiquitates Britanno-Belgicæ, Vol. I. p. 188) which feem to have been struck on this Occasion. On the one Reverse a genteel Female Figure holds out a Lily (the Emblem of Hope) to the Soldiers, as the Omen of Victory. Her Title round the Margin is the SPES AVGVSTA. We have the same agreeable Figure standing single on other Reverses, as restored by TITUS; of which this before us is an Instance. The other is the Figure of BRITANNIA, standing by the Prow of a Ship, and holding a Rudder in her right Hand, to fignify her Situation in the Midst of the Ocean. There is Room enough for Conjecture, that two other Reverses of CLAUDIUS, the one recommending Military Prudence, by the Figure of Pallas armed, and the other Constancy, by that of Pl. XVII. 3. a Soldier with his Helmet on, having the Hasta pura in his left Hand, and elevating the right Arm with the Finger bent towards his Head, all struck by a Decree of the Senate, and restored by TITUS, were owing to the same Occasion. Nor is it strange that Titus should be so careful for the Perpetuation of these Medals, as the Theatre of this Expedition had

Pl. XVI. 19.

Pl. XVI. 20.

Pl. XVII. 1.

Pl. XVII. 2.

had been the Scene of his own and his Father's Glory, who, being furrounded by the Enemy in one of the Actions here, and in the most imminent Danger, was piously rescued by his Son, who with aftonishing Boldness broke through and dispersed them.

CLAUDIUS having joined his Forces, passed the River, and came to a decifive Action with the Britons, wherein he gained a complete Victory. He then marched to Camalodunum, or Maldon, the regal Seat of Cunobeline, which he took; and issuing his Orders thence, forced many to a Submission, and received the voluntary Surrender of others. For this Success he was feveral Times saluted IMPERATOR. contrary to the Roman Ulage. The Britons were difarmed, and the Government of those who fubmitted, and the Subduction of the reft, committed to the Care of Plautius. This done, he fet out on his Return, having fent forward his two Sons-in-Law, Pompey and Silanus, with the News of his Victory. On this the Senate decreed to him the Surname of BRITANNICUS, a Triumph, annual Games, and two triumphal Arches, the one at Rome, the other at Gessoriacum. One of them is, on

Pl. XVII. 4. the Medal before us, inscribed DE BRITANNIS.

The next Reverse, however obliterated by Time, Pl. XVII. 5. Patin judges to have been struck as a Memorial of

his British Expedition, in which Opinion we readily CLAVDIVS. join. Neptune with his Trident appears in his Conchal Car, ruling the Waves, and drawn by Tritons, one of whom holds out his Hand, and founds his Shell in Triumph. For it agrees well with what Suetonius observes of him, that on the Pediment of his Palace, next to the Civic Wreath, he placed a NAVAL one, as a Monument of his having subdued the Ocean. But this last Historian differs from Dio, in that he is positive that CLAU-DIUS, during the very few Days, no more than fixteen, that he stayed in Britain, did indeed receive the Surrender of a Part of the Island, but without Battle or Bloodshed. Yet it is plain that he looked upon the War as finished, by the Denarius now struck, with his laureate Head, and TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG PM TR P III. On the Reverse of which is a winged Figure, holding out a Caduceus, with a Serpent before her, inscribed PACI AVGVSTAE. It was also decreed for his Son, that he should use that of Britannicus as his own proper Name, instead of all other.

He triumphed accordingly, after an Absence of fix Months only, ascending the Steps of the Capitol on his Knees, supported by his Sons-in-Law; MES-SALINA, in her Carpentum, following the triumphal Car. On this Occasion he favoured many with triumphal

Pl. XVII. 6

CLAVDIVS.

triumphal Ornaments, for he was profuse of those Honours. To Rubrius Pollio, Captain of the Guards, he allowed a Statue, and a Seat amongst the Senators as often as he should attend him thither. He exhibited triumphal Sports in two Theatres at once, and the Rejoicings were in all Respects such as spoke the Expedition an Affair of the highest Confequence, as opening the Way to the Conquest of a new World. And it was decreed, that all Treaties or Conventions made with the Britons, by CLAUDIUS or his Lieutenants, should be as effectual as if made by the Senate and People of Rome.

The Emperor now enlarged the paternal Dominion of M. Julius Cottius, upon the Alps of his Name, and gave him the Title of King. As the City was full of Statues, he removed most of them, and forbad any private Person to set up such Memorial of himself, without Permission of the Senate, unless he had raised or repaired some public Sructure. At this Time he exhibited the votive Games, which he had promised at his setting out for Britain; and to all those who received Corn at the public Charge, he distributed three hundred Sestertii a Head, by Way of Congiary. This, or some other Congiary, (for Suetonius says that he gave them often) is recorded on the Medal before us, which bears the Congius or Measure, and around

Pl. XVII. 7.

however the Plainness of the Measure here represented to indicate a pecuniary Liberality, because on the Coins of Nerva and Commodus we see the Ears of Corn springing from the Top of the Congius, as distinguishing the Frumentarian Distributions.

The next Year, when Valerius Ahaticus, the fecond Time, and M. Silanus, were Confuls, the former, though destined to that Dignity for the whole Year, thought fit to abdicate voluntarily, in order to decline the public Envy. For he was not a Roman, but a Gaul by Birth. But his immense Wealth proved fatal to him at last. Vinicius, an illustrious Person, attentive only to his own Ease and private Affairs, was yet poisoned by Messalina, who grew suspicious of him; for she had destroyed his Wife, and he had refused to gratify her libidinous Appetite. But Afinius Gallus, the uterine Brother of Drusus, who really aspired to the Empire, was only banished, as being rather a Subject of Ridicule than Fear. For he was of the smallest Size, and much deformed withal; nor had provided either Men or Money for fuch an Enterprize; but foolishly imagined that the fingle Confideration of his Family would advance him to the Height of his Wishes. This Act of Lenity was much cried up; nor less VOL. I. the 3 M

CLAVDIVS. the Vengeance taken upon a certain Freedman and his Accomplices, who had informed against his own Patron. But all were mightily concerned the while to see the Emperor himself the Slave of his own Wife and Freedmen; and that, while her Cruelties and Adulteries were the common Talk, He only should be ignorant of them whom they most concerned.

> Now came on the Trial of Valerius Ahaticus for Treason, against whom Witnesses were suborned by the Contrivance of MESSALINA. His great Guilt was the Possession of the fine Gardens of Lucullus, which he had nobly compleated and improved, and which she coveted. His Defence was so powerful, that CLAUDIUS only thought of absolving the Accused, when Vitellius, to gratify the Empress, threw himself on his Knees before him, with all dissembled Earnestness, entreating, that in Consideration of his own, and the eminent Services of Valerius, he would graciously grant him the Choice of his own Death. To this the stupid Emperor consented; and thus was this great and brave Man fooled out of his Life by the Villainy of a flavish Flatterer. This Year a small Island was thrown up from the Bottom of the Sea, next to that of Thera, now Santorini. Soon after Plautius, returning from Britain, was for his Services there highly extolled, and admitted to an Ovation. In Germany, Domitius Corbulo, who commanded

ftrict Discipline, and harrassed the Barbarians. Him the Emperor, searing his Valour and Experience, recalled, yet honoured with triumphal Ornaments. Being afterwards restored to his Command, he kept up the same Severity of Discipline, and, that the Soldiers might not degenerate, through Idleness, in Time of Peace, dug an immense Fosse, from the Rhine to the Meuse, three-and-twenty Miles in Length, that the Country might not be injured by the Stagnation of the Waters after high Tides.

Messalina, not fatisfied with her Adulteries (though she prostituted both herself and other Ladies of prime Rank in the Palace as in a Stew) took it frangely into her Head to authorize Polygamy by her own Example. For the now publickly married C. Silius, kept the Wedding in the most sumptuous Manner, gave him a royal Palace, which she decked with the Emperor's most precious Furniture, and purposed to make him Conful. Retiring from Rome, under the Pretence of Illness, she had provided a great Entertainment, at which she revelled with uncontrouled Licentiousness. Of all this only the Emperor, then at Offia, was ignorant. But Narcissus found Means to acquaint him with it by one of his Mistresses. He returned therefore in a Fright to the City, and gave Orders for the Execu-

CLAVDIVS. tion of Mnesther, Silius, and many others. Nor did MESSALINA escape, being put to Death in the same Gardens which had proved fo fatal to Valerius. We have the Figure of this abandoned Empress both on

PL XVII. 8.

Greek and Roman Coins. The first has on one Side the Emperor's laureate Head, with TIBEPLOS ΚΛΑΥΔΙος ΚΑΙΣας ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ LΓ, Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Germanicus anno tertio; on the other, the Empress with a Palm-branch in her left Hand, and holding out her two Children, OCTAVIA and BRI-TANNICUS, in her right: the Legend ΜΕΣΣΑΛΙΝΑ ΚΑΙΣαρος ΣΕΒΑαςη, Messalina Cæsaris Augusta. I suppose this to have been struck at Cæsarea, in Palestine, under the Direction of Agrippa. The second has the Emperor's Head plain, with the Addition of ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ, Augustus, to the Title. The Head of

Pl. XVII. 9.

the Empress has the Hair braided behind, with the Inscription ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑ ΜΕΣΣΑΛΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ, Valeria Messalina Augusta. The third has the Head of the Emperor, also plain, but of greater Likeness, being Roman, with TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. GERM.; and that of the Empress much refembles the other, with VALERIA MESSALINA AVGVSTA.

Pl. XVII. 10.

CICIC

Soon after he took to Wife his own Niece AGRIP-PINA, the Daughter of GERMANICUS and AGRIPPINA, and the Sifter of Caius. But as fuch Connection

was incestuous and unlawful, the sycophant Vitel- CLAVDIVS. lius, who was now Cenfor with CLAUDIUS, undertook to remove the Emperor's Scruples on that Account, requiring to know if he would fubmit the Affair to the Judgment of the Senate and People, to which he professed his Readiness to assent; and he fo artfully managed both, that the Match was called for aloud, fome of the fervile Senators declaring that they would compel him to it, if he demurred any longer. On this CLAUDIUS entered the Senate, demanding a Decree which should for the future authorize the Marriage of an Uncle with his Brother's Daughter, which passed accordingly. On this Occasion the curious Medal of the first Magnitude, before us, was struck, for the Explanation of which it was necessary to be thus particular. It exhibits the Busto of this Empress, an handsome Fi- Pl. XVII. 11. gure, for she is said to have been a fine Woman, with the Infcription AGRIPPINA AVG. GERMANICI F. CAESARIS AVG. But behind the Head are stamped, in an unufual Manner, the following Characters NCAPR for Nobis Concessa a Populo Romano, i. e. Allowed to us by the Roman People. Æneas Vicus (p. 86.) expresses himself doubtfully concerning this Interpretation; but the Reasons on which he grounds his Doubt are weak and trifling. The Reverse has the Figure of Ceres seated, as STAT having

CLAVDIVS. having by the Care of the Emperor taken up her Residence at Rome, with her Torch across her Lap, and extending her right Hand with Ears of Corn in it. It bears also, by the S. C., the Sanction of a Senatorial Decree. On many other Medals this Empress is complimented as the Representative of the same Goddess, being crowned with a Wreath of Ears of Corn; as in the following one of Gold, Pl. XVII, 12. with the laureate Head of CLAUDIUS, of great Likeness, with TI. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. Pl. XVII. 13. GERM. PM TRIB POT PP.; in the Reverse of which she is thus decorated, with AGRIPPINAE Pl. XVII. 14. AVGVSTAE. The Denarius exhibits both in the same Manner, and with the same Titles. She is thus Pl. XVII. 15. figured too in the following Reverse of Copper, and in the Greek Coin before us. But in the next we Pl. XVII. 16. fee a Poppy, between two Ears of Corn, springing 11 1 1 1 1 1 1 from her Bosom, as Symbols of Plenty and Fertility: the Epigraphe is ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝ, Agrippinam Augustam: on the Reverse, Diana is represented drawing an Arrow from her Quiver, while she holds out the Bow with her left Hand: she is attended by a Nymph, who is fondling one Stag while the exposes the Head of another: the Legend is EIII DEPOTHNIOT KAHITQNOC KAI IOYAIAC ΣΕΟΥΗΡΑC AKMQNEQN, under Serote-Pl. XVII. 17. nius Capito and Julia Severa, of the Acmonensians. These gai mi

These were a People of Phrygia Pacatiana, whose CLAVDIVS. tutelar Deity was Diana, and the Persons here named were probably the Priest and Priestess of the favourite Goddess. But we have her Head, without this Ornament, struck by the Cotyensians, who inhabited the Phrygia salutaris, and complimented her as their other Cybele, whom they principally worshipped; whose Statue is seated on the Reverse, with the Head turrited, extending her right Hand with the Patera, and holding the Tympanum with her left: her two Lions, commonly represented as drawing her Car, are here couchant at her Feet: the Legend is KOTIAEON EII IOYAIOY YIOY. Of the Cotyensians: under Julius the Son. Patin has given us another, whereon the Heads of the Emperor and Empress are adverse, and both crowned with Laurel: behind the former we read KAAYAION EEBAETON. Claudium Augustum; and behind the latter APPIII-ΠΙΝΑΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝ, Agrippinam Augustam: on the other Side stands a Victory guiding a Serpent with a Rod. The Reading, as our Author has given it, is ΕΠΙ ΧΡΕΣΧΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ, and in the Area ZMY; in which we conceive that learned Antiquarian to be mistaken. Because in Vaillant's Numismata Imperatorum a Populis Græce loquentibus, the very same Coin is described in p. 14, as making a Part of the royal Collection of France, and probably

CLAVDIVS. From this Profusion of Honours, all Persons of Understanding forefaw and lamented the unhappy Fate of young Britannicus. Agrippina was now bent upon amassing vast Treasures for her Son, accounting nothing mean and fordid, which was but gainful: And Seneca the Philosopher was recalled from Exile to instruct him in the Arts of Government. LOLLIA PAULINA, who had rivalled her in her Pretensions to CLAUDIUS, now fell a Sacrifice to her Revenge; while to many more their great Riches proved destructive. She seemed indeed to have taken upon her all of MESSALINA, except her Lewdness. Several Honours were conferred upon her, particularly the Use of the Carpentum at the public Games. On Occasions of State, or the Audience of Ambassadors, she appeared on the Tribunal with her Husband. When he exhibited a Naval Fight on the Lake Fucinus, himself and Nero appeared in the military Vest, but she attracted the Eyes of the Multitude in a Robe inwoven with Gold. The Lake was inclosed with a wooden Gallery, for the Convenience of a vast Number of The Combatants were fuch as had Spectators. been condemned to die. The two Fleets, confisting of fifty Vessels on each Side, were called the Rhodian and Sicilian Fleets. The unhappy Criminals. addressed him with " Hail, Emperor ! the Dying " falute

" falute thee!" As he returned the Salutation, they CLAVDIVS. looked upon themselves as pardoned; and it was with great Difficulty, and not without many Threatenings, and much Hurry and Indecency of Behaviour, that he compelled them to engage. After this he gave an Entertainment upon the Spot, at the Draining of the Lake, but was very near being overwhelmed by the Violence of the Stream. Another Instance of his Folly appeared at the Trial of Junius Cilo, who was accused by the Bithynians of Corruption in the Province. The Crowd and Tumult being great, he asked the Standers-by, What it was they faid:" on which his infolent Freedman, Narcissus, made Answer, "They return "you Thanks for Junius." "Well then" (replied the Emperor) "let him be their Governor for " two Years longer."

At this Time P. Ostorius carried on the War in Britain with much Danger, and doubtful Success, till he came to a pitched Battle with Caractacus, whose Wife and Daughter were taken Captive, and his Brothers forced to surrender. The vanquished Prince sled for Resuge to Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, by whom he was persidiously thrown in Chains, delivered up, and conveyed to Rome, where the Emperor, the Senate, and the People were much elevated with the Glory of his Captivity.

But

CLAYDIVS. But this rendered the Britons more intent on Revenge. They fell upon the legionary Cohorts with great Fury, and forced them, after much Loss, to take Refuge in the neighbouring Towns and Castles. Not long after they attacked their Foragers, and defeated the Troops sent to their Assistance. Ostorius. then drew out his light-armed Cohorts, but to no Purpose, till the Legions came up and engaged, which rendered the Dispute more equal, but in the End rather inclining to the Roman Side; for that the Britons retreated in the Evening, but with little Loss. There happened many small Skirmishes afterwards, the Silures behaving with obstinate Bravery, and intercepting two auxiliary Cohorts. By distributing the Spoils and Captives, they drew their Neighbours to a Defection, which proved so irksome. to the Roman General, that he foon died, worn out with Cares and Toils. He was succeeded by A. Didius, who found Affairs in much Disorder, the Legion under Manlius Valens having been defeated. before his Arrival. But a Difference arising between Cartismandua and her Husband Venusius, a Civil War broke out with great Violence, which gave their Affairs a better Aspect. In the twelfth Year. of the Emperor's Tribunitial Power, a Roman Colony was fettled at Maldon, as we find by one of. Pl. XVIII. 4. his Coins, the Infcription of which is TI. CLAVD.

CAES.

CAES. AVG. GERO P. M. TR. P. XII. IMP. CLAVDIVS. XIIX.; and on the Reverse a Yoke at Plough, driven by an Husbandman, as usual, with COL CAMO-LODON AVG. The fame Year the Aftrologers were banished Rome, and the Emperor finished, at his own Expence, the two magnificent Aquæducts. which had been begun by his Predecessor. To this Period also may be assigned an important Transaction of this Emperor, not taken Notice of by any of the Historians. For that such there was, appears by the Coin before us, around which we read TI Pl. XVIII. 52 CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. The Area is filled up with an Hand and Scales, and between the last the Letters P. N. R. which I read Pecunia Nostra Restituta: This Explanation differs from that of Mr. Addison, who has not attempted to read the Letters inclosed by the Scales, but will be justified by many other Coins that shall occur in the Course of this Work. As little do they speak of his Liberality to the Temple of the Ephesian Diana. Yet fomething of this Sort must have passed, to have given Occasion to the striking of the fine Medallion of Silver, which bears his Head plain, with the Title TI CLAVD. CAES. AVG. and shews on its.-Pl. XVIII. 6. Reverse the Temple of that Goddess, with her Statue in the Centre of it, and on the Sides DIANæ EPHEsinæ. He was so fond of the Heathenish.

Rites.

CLAVDIVS.

Rites, that he proposed to transfer the Eleusmian Mysteries to Rome, and endeavoured to abolish utterly the Religion of the Druids. In his fourth Confulate he celebrated the Sæcular Games alledging that Augustus had done the same at an improper Time. This was a Piece of Vain-Glory in the Emperor; for we shall find Domitian doing the same a few Years hence, and taking his Computation from those of Augustus, as they could properly be celebrated only once in an hundred Years. He also made a Census of the Citizens, who appeared to be in Number fix Millions nine hundred Thousand one Hundred and forty-four. The Limits of the Empire were enlarged in his Time, by the Addition of Mesopotamia in the East, Mauritania in the South, and a Part of Britain in the West. In Consequence of which he enlarged the Bounds of the City, as was usual with those who had extended the Limits of the Empire. He was particular in his Treaties with foreign Powers; for he concluded them in the Forum in the ancient Manner, by the Slaughter of an Hog, and the Interposition of Heralds, according to the Poet:

Stabant, et cæså jungebant fædera porcå.

VIRGIL.

And by a slaughter'd Pig their Treaties join'd.

Quinctilian,

AUNIVATI

Quintilian, Servius, and others, alledge that an CLANDIVS. Hog, and not a Sow, was flaughtered on such Occasions; and that Virgil has made Use of the Fæminine Gender more for the Euphony than Distinction of Sex. Yet Suetonius mentions the Female of the Species. However that be, we have the Manner of it expressed in the serrated Denarius annexed of Pl. XVIII. 7-Tiberius Vettius, who, being of Sabine Extraction, chose for his Reverse the Treaty between ROMULUS and Tarius. From which it appears to have been the original Custom for the Heralds to pierce the Animal with their Swords, though afterwards it became usual for them to crush the Head of it with a Flint; each of them in the mean Time uttering direful Imprecations against either Party that should wilfully infringe the Treaty, " that they might " perish in the same Manner." and the same had a

AGRIPPINA was now at the Height of Power. She fettled a Colony of Veterans in a Town of the Ubii, in Germany, which was the Place of her Nativity, and which she stiled the COLONY OF AGRIPPINA. She made Burrhus Commander of the Prætorian Cohorts, and acted in all Things. fo arbitrarily, that the Emperor began to recollect himself, and take Umbrage at her Proceedings. He enquired for his Son BRITANNICUS, with the Sight of whom he had been rarely trusted, spoke:

CLAYDIVS. kindly to him, and feemed to intend? him for the Succession. This filled her with Apprehensions, and she determined to prevent him by Poison. One Locusta, an infamous Dealer in this baneful Commodity, furnished her with the Means. It was infused into a fine Mushroom, a Food which he was very fond of, which she helped him to at Table, eating freely of the rest herself. He rose seemingly in a State of Ebriety, which was the less taken Notice of, because it was usual with him, and was carried off. In the Night he loft his Speech and Hearing; and expired early the next Morning, at the Age of fixty-three, having reigned thirteen Years eight Months and twenty Days. His Obsequies were solemnized with the same Honours which had been paid to Augustus; and he was deified by those through whom he ceased to live: and it was not infacetiously said by Nero, on this Occafion, that Mushrooms were the Food of Gods. His Confecration-Medal gives his Head laureated, with the Infcription DIVVS CLAVDIVS AVGVSTVS: On the Reverse is a quadrigated Herse or Car, with an Eagle rifing with expanded Wings from the Summit of it, and in the Exergue EX S C.

PL XVIII. 8.

His Person was not without Authority and Dignity, standing or fitting, but particularly sleeping. For he was tall and not lank; his Skin fair, with

grey Hairs, and a thick Neck. But when he en- CLAVDIVS. tered a Room, his Hams feemed weak and tottering: and in Action, whether jocose or serious, he was very ungraceful. For his Laughter was indecent; his Anger fulsome, for he grinned and foamed at the Mouth, his Tongue faultered, and his Head shook much. While in a private Station. he was very infirm and fickly, but healthier afterwards, except that he complained frequently of a Pain in his Stomach. He made large and frequent Entertainments, when his Guests were very nu-In his eating and drinking he was very intemperate, and commonly slept after it. loved Dice, and published a Treatise of the Art of Play. Five Times he took upon him the Confular Dignity. In his Wives he was particularly unhap-He first married AEMILIA LEPIDA, the Great Niece of Augustus, whom he divorced before she was admitted to his Bed, because her Parents had given Offence to Augustus. LIVIA ME-DULLINA CAMILLA, descended from the Dictator CAMILLUS, was the next that he pitched upon; but she died on the Day fixed for their Nuptials. He married afterwards PLAUTIA URGULANILLA, and after her AELIA PETINA, but dismissed them both by Divorce. By Urgulanilla, he had Drusus and CLAUDIA; by PETINA, ANTONIA. DRUSUS died Vol. I. 3 O young,

CLAVDIVS.

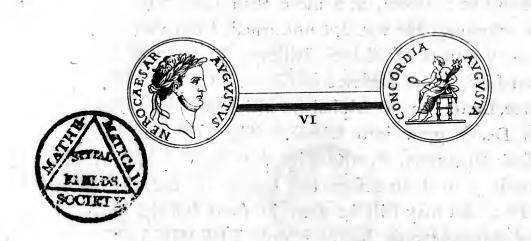
young, by tofling up a Pear, and catching it in his Mouth, which sticking in his Throat, strangled him. CLAUDIA he would not own, as supposing her begotten by one of his Freedmen, named Boter, though born within four Months after the Divorce. Antonia he gave first in Marriage to Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and afterwards to Fauftus Sulla. By his next Wife, VALERIA MESSALINA, he had OCTAVIA and BRITANNICUS. The first he betrothed to Silanus, who slew himself on the Marriage of Agrip-PINA with CLAUDIUS. By this last he had no Child. Being exceedingly timorous and distrustful, he became the Dupe of his Wives and Freedmen. These, whom he chiefly regarded, were, Possides the Eunuch, whom he dignified with the Hasta pura at his British Triumph; Claudius (called by Tacitus Antonius) Felix, to whom he committed the Government of Judea, and whom our Author calls the Husband of three Queens: Harpocras, to whom he granted the Liberty of being carried through the City in a Chair or Sedan, and of exhibiting Shews or Spectacles; Polybius, the Affiftant of his Studies, who frequently walked between the two Confuls; Narcissus his Secretary and Pallas his Treasurer, to whom he not only granted immense Rewards, authorized by a Decree of the Senate, but the Use also of Quæstorian and Prætorian Ornaments.



XVIII



ments. And to these principally, in Conjunction CLAVDIVS. with his Wives, must be imputed the Death of thirty-five Senators, and more than three hundred Equestrians. He was not unlearned, having written fome Volumes of Roman History, Memoirs of his own Life, and a Defence of Cicero. He also added three Letters to the Alphabet, which presently after his Death grew into Disuse. The first was the Æolic Digamma, in the Figure of an inverted F, which A had therefore the Power of the Greek Φ Ph; and may still be seen in some Inscriptions, as Lipsius observes, in the Words TERMINAJIT, AMPLIA, IT, and DIAI AVGVSTI. The fecond was the Antifigma, thus formed X, and answering to the Y Pf of the Greeks. What the third was is unknown, but it is supposed to have been intended to answer the End of the Greek Note of Aspiration, and particularly to foften the Sound of the Canine Letter R.



NERO CLAUDIUS CAESAR.

NERO.

BARBUS, and JULIA AGRIPPINA, the Daughter of GERMANICUS. He had been adopted at the Age of eleven Years, and was now feventeen. On the Death of CLAUDIUS, he proceeded to the Camp with Burrhus, who commanded the Prætorian Guards. His Addition to the Soldiery, within the Camp, is represented on the Reverse before us, struck by Decree of the Senate. He is in a speaking Attitude, supported by Burrhus, with the Soldiers and their Ensigns before him: in the Area S C, and in the Exergue Additional Conference of the same Donative which they had received from

Pl. XVIII. 9.

from his Predecessor, he was declared Emperor, and NERO. afterwards acknowledged as fuch by all Orders, little Mention being made of BRITANNICUS. One of the first Greek Medallions of him, in Silver, has his Pl. XVIII. 10. Head with a radiated Crown, and the Inscription fomewhat injured, NEPΩ KAAY = = = E. Nero Claudius, Anno primo; and on the Reverse the Head of CLAUDIUS radiated also, and expressing his Confecration by ΘΕΟΣ = ==. In the Course of his Government, he fully verified the Prediction of his Father, that " Nothing good could be produced by "himself and AGRIPPINA." It is said, that some Persons, sent by Messalina to strangle him while he flept, at Noon, were deterred by a Serpent iffuing from his Pillow. This Tale arose from the Cast-skin of a Serpent being found amongst his Night-Cloaths. The whole Story is, that fuch a Thing was given to him by his Mother, which he wore, as an Amulet, upon his right Arm, inclosed in a golden Bracelet. On one of his Coins, in Bronze, with Pl. XVIII. 1.1. his laureate Head, and the Inscription IMperator NEPo CLAVdius CAESar AVGustus, it is seen fpringing from his Neck: on the Reverse a laurel Wreath furrounds a Circle, with S. C. For the Astrologers of the Time had hence foretold, that he was to receive great Power from an old Man, as. the Serpent, when he casts his Skin, is thought to

Pl. XVIII, 12.

put off his Age at the same Time. The annexed Medal, struck in the third Year of his Reign, at Alexandria, in Egypt, as appears by the Lotus and Papyrus, was undoubtedly owing to the same Foundation. It bears his laureate Head, and NEPwy ΚΛΑΥδίος ΚΑΙΣαρ ΣΕΒαςος ΓΕΡμανίκος ΑΥΤΟκρατωρ, on one Side; and on the Reverse a Serpent rising, and the Legend NEOs ΑΓΑΘο ΔΑΙΜων; i. e. Recens Bonus Genius, or The New Good Genius. His first Speech to the Senate, composed by Seneca, was so much admired, that the Fathers decreed it to be engraven on a Silver Column, and recited every Year, when the Confuls entered on their Office. At first Agrip-PINA managed all. They went out together, and were frequently carried in the fame Chair; though generally she was carried, and he followed on Foot. She gave Answer to Ambassadors, and signed the Dispatches to foreign Powers. On a Greek Coin of Bronze, she is feated as a Deity, with a Branch of Laurel in her right Hand, and a Cornucopiæ in her left, with AГРІППЕІНН ЕЕВАСТИ, Agrippina Au-Another Reverse, a little defaced, seems to afcribe his Security to the Policy and Conduct of his Mother, by a like female Figure feated, having the Hasta pura in her left Hand, and holding up her right to her Head, around whom is inscribed SECVRITAS AVGVSTI. But his own Denarius,

with

Pl. XVIII. 13.

with his laureate Head, and the Title NERO CAESAR AVGVSTVS, bears on the Reverse a Pl. XVIII. 14. Jupiter seated, with the Sceptre in his left Hand, and grasping the Lightning in his Right; the Legend IVPPITER CVSTOS. Her engroffing Matters was not however pleafing to Seneca and Burrhus, who were the Persons of greatest Authority about Nero. At an Audience therefore of the Armenian Ambassadors, with whom the Emperor was already converfing, when she came with Intent · to ascend the Tribunal, they perfuaded him to go down and meet his Mother, after which they returned not, pretending other Bufiness, and so prevented this Dishonour to the Majesty of the Empire. They found Means afterwards to ease her of the public Business, which they took upon themfelves, and which they administered with consummate Wisdom and Justice. To their Advice, therefore, we must ascribe the Bounty which feemed to flow from him. For in this early Part of his Government he distributed to the Roman People a Congiary of no less than four hundred Denarii each Man, and appointed annual Stipends for the poorer Senators. This Instance of Munificence is celebrated in the following Reverse, which represents Pl. XVIII. 15. the Distribution, and declares it by the Legend CONGIarium DATum POPulo Romano: in the Ex-

ergue SC. The young Emperor loved his Eafe, and they permitted him to indulge his Pleasures, not duly confidering the growing Power of Corruption. With respect to his Morals, at first he only made Entertainments, lived luxuriously with the libidinous, was frequently intoxicated, intrigued. But when he saw that this brought no Reproof, and that the Public fuffered not by it, he looked upon this Manner of Life as innocent and lawful. In this he was not a little encouraged by his lewd Associates, who called it mean to submit to his Mother, and shameful for the Emperor to be ruled by Seneca and Burrhus. He therefore began to view them with an Eye of Indifference first, and then of Contempt, growing by Degrees into a professed Imitation of the Manners of his Uncle Caius, whom he quickly exceeded. He became most immoderate in his Expences, and thence most unjust and rapacious, so that he not only exacted new Taxes, but hankered after the Possessions of the wealthy, stripping many, and murdering others. He was fond of Horse-racing, and rewarded even the victorious Beaft. Hence the Circenfian Games were celebrated with much Avidity, and on this Occasion the annexed Medal was struck, with his laureate Head, and NERO CLAUD CAESAR AUG GERM P M. TR P: on the Reverse,

Pl. XVIII. 16.

two military Horsemen, with their Colours, in the Nero. Course; in the Area, SC; and in the Exergue, DECVRSIO.

In the mean Time a Difference arose between him and his Mother, who found her Authority in the Palace much diminished by his Fondness for Acte, a female Slave, purchased in Asia, whom he affected far beyond his Wife OCTAVIA. She therefore complained to, and admonished, him, punishing some of his Companions, and removing others. When this had no Effect, she charged him with Ingratitude, as being indebted to her for the Empire. But her Complaints were quickly filenced by the fudden Death of Britannicus, who fell by Poison as he sat at Table before the whole Court. Face, much discoloured by the fatal Drug, was whited over before the Body was carried out; but fo much Rain fell in the Procession as entirely washed away the Whiting, which was fresh laid on, and discovered the Violence by which he perished. After this he gave a Loofe to his Madness, rambling in Disguise from Place to Place, at unseasonable Hours, and committing every Sort of Outrage. one of these Frolicks he got himself heartily beaten, and was forced to keep his Chamber for some Days. Prefently after many Spectacles were exhibited, in which a Number of Bulls, four hundred Bears, and Vol. I. 3 P . three

three hundred Lions, were flaughtered by his Horse-Guards, and many Pair of Gladitors fought. These were followed by judicial Contests, which occafioned Banishments and Executions in great Plenty. Amongst others, Seneca was accused of several Crimes, and particularly of an unlawful Familiarity with AGRIPPINA. On which Occasion our Historian (Dio) observes, that he was really guilty of many Things in direct Opposition to his own Philosophy. But of all the Emperor's Companions Отно was the most regarded by him, being closely connected by a Similitude of Manners, and a Society of Guilt. He had given him to Wife a noble Lady, named POPPÆA SABINA, whom he forced from her former Husband for that Purpose, and her they shared in common. NERO was so taken with her Charms, that AGRIPPINA began to fear that he would marry her, and is thence supposed to have entered upon the most horrid Design of drawing him to her own Bed, as the most effectual Means of having him in her Power. This inflamed Por-PÆA, who perfuaded him to get rid of her at any Rate. And it was thought by many that Seneca: himself was concerned in the same Proposal. But it was a difficult Matter to execute such Purpose upon one who was always on her Guard: till one Day observing in the Theatre a Ship to open, and discharge:

NERO:

discharge itself of some living Animals, after which the feveral Parts of it drew together and closed again; they determined to have one constructed on the fame Principles. This being done, the Behaviour of the Emperor, and of all about him, became extremely placid and obliging to his Mother. At length an Excursion into the Campania was refolved on, and she failed in the same Ship with him, which was most magnificently decorated. This he did to give her a Liking to the Vessel. When they came to Bauli, she was sumptuously entertained for many Days. Every Time he saw her he complained of his Uneafiness in her Absence, was frequent in his Embraces, urged her to command him if she wished for any Thing, and endeavoured to prevent her Wishes. At Midnight he parted with her, after kissing her Eyes and Hands, and charging her to be careful of her Health for his Sake. He then delivered her to the Care of Anicetus, his Freedman, who was to conduct her homeward in the Vessel provided for her Destruction. In the Passage it opened, and let her into the Sea, and the Mariners, pre-instructed, used their Oars to fuch Purpose that they dispatched Aceronia Polla, her Attendant; but the Empress escaped, and, when she got home, fent to her Son the News of her Deliverance, dissembling all Suspicion of intended 3 P 2

tended Violence. But the Messenger was immediately put to Death, as if fent to affaffinate the Emperor. And prefently Anicetus, with some of the Marines, was commissioned to dispatch her. As foon as the faw them, the gueffed the Defign which they came upon, and leaping from the Bed whereon she lay, and rending open her Garment, and bareing her Belly, "Strike me here," faid she, " for this it was which brought into the World fuch " a Monster as Nero." After this Nero wrote Letters to the Senate, in which he loaded her with many Accusations, particularly with a Design toaffaffinate him, " which failing, she had put an " End to her own Life." Meanwhile he was most dreadfully haunted with Terrors whithersoever he went; and many were not diffatisfied with his Commission of fo foul a Fact, as they believed that it would hasten his Ruin. On his Return to Rome. however, Sacrifices were offered in Honour of his Mother, magnificent Games and theatrical Entertainments were exhibited, and on this Occasion it was observed, that the Elephants, which had drawn the Herse or Car of Augustus, when they entered the Circus, would proceed no further than the Seats of the Senators. They are represented in this Action on a Medal of Gold, which has on one Side the Heads both of Nero and Agrippina, with the Title

Title NERO CLAVDii DIVI Filius CAESar NERO. AVGustus GERManicus IMPerator TRibunitia Potestate COSul. The Reverse has the four Ele- Pl. XVIII. 17. phants drawing the Car, in which two Persons are feated, the one holding the Hasta pura in the Left Hand, the other supporting the Eagle with the Right: in the Area, EX S. C. The Legend is NERONIS CAESaris MATER AGRIPPina AV-Gusta DIVI CLAVDii. The Denarius exactly re- Pl. XVIII. 18. fembles this. By this Sort of Confecration he vainly endeavoured to atone for a Crime which rendered him abhorred by all Mankind. Yet abhorred as he was, the fervile Senate still payed their Court to him by a Profusion of new Honours, all but the brave P. Thrasea Pætus. When Proposals of this Sort were going forward, he left them to themfelves, and would fay, "NERO may kill me, but. " he cannot hurt me." After this, to fay that he poisoned his Aunt Domitia, and seized on her Estate, is saying little. His thoughtless Extravagancies: were equal to his meditated Cruelties and Extortions. Tickets he dispersed Abroad, on which were expressed the most costly and delicious Eatables, the most valuable Effects, as Horses, Slaves, Carriages, Gold, Silver, and Variety of Raiment, which whofoever brought was entitled to the Thing specified. Amongst the Populace he wantonly

tonly threw little Balls, inscribed in like Manner, which also entitled the Bearer. Some Prodigies happening, the Soothfayers faid, that they portended the Death of Nero, and advised him to avert the Danger upon others. This had cost many Persons their Lives, had not Seneca freely told him, that, " kill as many as he would, he could not kill his "Succeffor." Sacrifices were then offered for his Safety; and, at this Time, he dedicated the public Flesh-Market, called The MACELLUM AUGUSTI, which is represented on the following Medals in Bronze, which have both the same Inscription, NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GER PM TR P IMP PP; but on the first the Head is laureated, and on the last it is covered with a radiated Crown, which was very fingular, at this Time, for a living Pl. XVIII. 19. Emperor. On the Reverses we have the Figure of the Macellum itself with MAC AVG, but on the first the S C is at the Sides of the Building, and at the Bottom in the last. His Juvenalian Festival succeeded, on the first Rasure of his Beard, the Hairs of which were inclosed in a Golden Ball, and confecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus. At these Sports People of all Ranks and both Sexes affifted. In the Conclusion, Nero himself was cited, and, appearing in the Theatre in the Habit of an Harper, bespoke the Favour of the Assembly, whom he called

Pl. XIX. I.



XIX



called his Lords and Masters, and sung Attis and the Bacchanals before a vast Number of Soldiers, and a most crowded Audience. Burrbus and Seneca stood by him as his Masters, suggesting what was needful. When he fpoke they clapped him, giving the Signal to others to follow the Example; for there were five thousand Soldiers, stilled Augustales, stationed for this Purpose, and, when they applauded, all the rest were obliged to take the Hint. Only Thrasea must be excepted, who could not be induced to join the general Assentation. But the common Cry was, "Our amiable Cæsar! Our " Apollo! Augustus!" Nay, he is celebrated in this Character even upon Roman Coins authorized by the Senate; for on the following we fee his laureate Head, with NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERMANIC.; and on the Reverse we behold him in the Character of Apollo, playing on the Harp, with S C in the Area; and around, a Continuation of his Titles, FONTIF MAX TR POT IMP PP. We are not therefore to wonder, that the Greeks should afterwards take up the same Kind of Adulation. When they were ended, he gave an Entertainment to all the People on Board the Ships, in the same Place where Augustus had exhibited a naval Engagement, and failed thence at Midnight, by the Fosse of Communication, into the Tiber.

Pl. XIX. 2.

Such

Such were the Circumstances which attended the first Denudation of his Chin.

After this, for the Prosperity and Diuturnity of his Empire (for fo the Edict ran) he instituted the Quinquennial Games, so called because they were to return only once in five Years, and entitled them Neronia, erecting a Gymnasium for the Purpose, at the Dedication of which he distributed Oil to the Equestrians and Senators gratis. This Institution is recorded on Coins, bearing the plain Head of NERO CAES AVG IMP; and having on the Reverse an Urn with Wreaths, and the Legend CERtamen QVINQuennale ROMæ COnditum: In the Exergue SC. Here too he obtained the Wreath, all other Lyrists being deemed unworthy. And in Consequence of this the other Wreaths, wherefoever contested, were transmitted to him from all Parts, as the supreme Victor upon the Harp.

All this while Corbulo was gathering better Laurels in the East, having reduced Armenia, and made himself Master of Artaxata the Capital; on which Account Nero was saluted Imperator. In Britain, Suetonius Paulinus, emulous of his Glory, undertook an Expedition against the Island of Mona, now Anglesea, the principal Residence of the Druids. These seems to have depended more on their religious Rites for Protection than on the Sword, or

Pl. XIX. 3.

any Refistance which they were capable of making. For we do not find that much Opposition was made; but that the Druids, and their Wives and Children, with dishevelled Hair and in frantic Mood, appeared upon the Shore, holding up their Hands, and uttering dreadful Imprecations upon their Enemies. The Island was quickly reduced, cleared of its Groves, and its Towns garrifoned. But the Expedition proved unseasonable. For Prasutagus, one of the wealthiest Princes of Britain, King of the Iceni (comprehending the Counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon) dying while the Preparations were going forward, and leaving the Emperor and his own two Daughters his Heirs, the Romans rapaciously seized upon the whole, fcourged his Widow Boadicea, ravished his Daughters. stripped the Nobility of their Estates, and treated the whole Royal Family as the most abject Slaves. While therefore the Proprætor was employed, they hastily took up Arms, under the Conduct of the Queen, were joined by the Trinobantes, attacked the Colony of Camalodunum, which they destroyed, and besieged the strong Temple erected to the Divinity of CLAUDIUS, which they took on the second Day. They defeated Petilius Cerealis, at the Head of the ninth Legion, and cut the Infantry in Pieces, while the Commander fled with the Horse. Catus, the Vol. I. Procurator, 3 Q

Procurator, gave up all for loft, and failed into Gaul. Paulinus, receiving the News, marched back with Resolution through Landon, and joined Cerealis. This was, even then, a Place of great Trade, but fell now, with Verulam, into the Hands of the exasperated Insurgents, who plundered the Places, and utterly destroyed the Inhabitants in the opposite Interest; so that seventy thousand Roman Citizens and Confederates were put to the Sword. The Proprætor had now collected about ten thousand Regulars, and determined to give them Battle. He chose his Ground where he could not be attacked except in Front, and that by the Opening of a narrow Lane only. The Consequence was, that the tumultuous Britons were defeated, with the Slaughter of eighty thousand. Paulinus was soon after succeeded by Petronius Turpilianus, as he was by Trebellius Maximus, who were content to enjoy their Authority in ignoble Eafe. All add to he will be

NERO now repudiated his Wife Octavia, though strongly distuaded from it by Burrhus, who told him plainly, that he ought then to restore her Fortune, which was no less than the Roman Empire. This unhappy Lady, whose Fate was generally commiserated, was first banished, and afterwards put to Death. She is commemorated on many Coins. On that before us we have the plain Head of

Pl. XIX. 4.

NERO, with the Sceptre, and the Title NEROni CLAVdio CAESari AVGusto IMPeratori VRINO VOLVMNIO. The two last Words Tristan interprets as the CELESTIAL, the BENEVOLENT; Uranus being the Father of Saturn, and the Preserver of all Things, and the God and Goddess Volumnus and Volumna, they who dispose Persons to be kind and good-natured, and are therefore reckoned amongst the conjugal Deities. The Reverse has the Heads both of the Emperor, representing the Sun, and of Octavia, representing the Moon, and facing each other: Behind Him, NERO CLAV CAES AVG IMP; and behind Her, OCTAVIA AU-GUSTA. The two next I suppose to have been struck at Alexandria, in Egypt, as the Emperor in the first bears a radiated Crown, with NERO KAIX = = =; and on the Reverse is Octavia, with OKTAVI=CEBAΣTH; in the Area A, i. e. Octavia Augusta, Anno primo. On the second he has the fame Crown, with NER KAAY KAIE EEBAYT, Nero Claudius Cafar Augustus Imperator. The Reverse of this also has the Head of the Empress, with ΟΚΤΑΟΥΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ L. Octavia Augusta, Anno-. Burrhus, for his Freedom of Speech, was foon after carried off by Poison, and in his Room two Commanders of the Prætorian Cohorts were appointed, one of whom was Tigellinus, a Man of the most abandoned 3 Q 2

Pl. XIX. 5.

Pl. XIX. 6.

abandoned Character of any in the Empire. All this was done to make way for the Sovereignty of POPPEA, who, with the Affistance of her Husband Otho, had wound up the Emperor's Passion to the most extravagant Height. She entreated, with feeming Earnestness, "to be restored to her Husband, the best and worthiest of Men;" he, on the other Hand, exerted every Art to make the Emperor believe, that he could not live without her, and to enhance the Merit of having shared her with him, fometimes using great Liberty, and roughly demanding her as his Property. Infomuch that NERO, distracted between the Tears of the one, and the authoritative Tone of the other, determined at last, it is said, by the Advice of Seneca, to confign him to an honourable Banishment, by preferring him to the Government of Lustania; which he administered to the Time of the Civil Wars with much Honour and Integrity. Thus he got rid of a troublesome Rival, and secured to himself the fole Possession of the Lady. She had indeed every Thing that was amiable in Woman (except a Sense of Honour) Family, Fortune, and the most engaging Beauty, the Appearance of great Modesty, feldom shewing herself abroad, and then with her Face partly veiled, though exceedingly lascivious. Her Conversation was agreeable, for she wanted not Wit. Land Tolling in 200

But Reputation she had never regarded, making no Distinction between Husbands and Gallants, but transferring her Affection chiefly where it was likely to be attended with the most Advan-So fond of her Charms, that, looking in the Glass one Day, she prayed, that she might die before she grew old: Elegant in her Attire, and studious of Dress and Ornament. Her Luxury was equal to her Vanity. The Mules that drew her were harneffed with Gold, and she used the Milk of five hundred milch Asses daily for her Bath. By the Coins which remain of her, she appears to have been particularly nice in the Disposition of her Hair, which hangs in Ringlets down her Neck. These are all of the Greek Stamp, and were probably struck in Egypt. The first has her Head on one Side, with ΠΟΠΠΑΙΑΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ, Poppææ Augustæ; on the other, the laureate Head of Nero, with NEPONOS ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ, Neronis Augusti. On the second she Pl. XIX. 8, 9. is veiled, and bears the same Title, but the Emperor's Head has a radiated Crown, without any Inscription. A third has his radiated Head, with NEPΩ ΚΛΑΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ, on one Side; and on the other, that of Poppaa, as the last. On a fourth, Pl. XIX. 10. their Heads are joined, with NEPONA HOHHAIAN ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΣ, Neronem Poppæam Augustos. And on a fifth they are adverse, with NEPQN above, and Pl. XIX. 11. diam'r.

Pl. XIX. 7..

ПОППАІА

Pl. XIX. 12.

Pl. XIX. 13.

HOΠΠΑΙΑ underneath; but in the Reverse of both she is represented as the Genius of Rome. These are in Bronze; but there is a fine one of Silver in the Pembrokian Collection, of the Size of a Denarius, having the Emperor's laureate Head, and inscribed NEPΩN ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ; and on the Reverse that of POPPÆA, with ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΠΟΠΠΑΙΑ. On Occasion of this new Connection the conjugal Medal of Gold, which is subjoined, was probably struck, bearing the Emperor's laureate Head, with NERO CAESAR AVGVSTVS; and on the Reverse, a female Figure seated, having a Cornucopiæ in the left Hand, and a Patera in the right, with

CONCORDIA AVGVSTA.

Burrhus being carried off, it was not to be expected that the Severity of Seneca would long be endured. The Philosopher himself was aware of this. He threw himself at the Emperor's Feet, and made him a Tender of his whole Substance, which was immense, requesting only Leave to retire, and apply himself wholly to his Studies. But the instidious Emperor not only refused to hear him, but to his Refusal added Caresses, assuring him with many Oaths, that his Safety should be as dear to him as his own. The Philosopher kept himself mostly at home afterwards, pretending Want of Health, and industriously avoiding all Occasion of Reproach.

Reproach. But his Retreat augmented the Influence of Tigellinus, who now persuaded the Emperor to put to Death the two Persons of whom, for their Popularity, he was most apprehensive. These were Sylla, and Rubellius Plautus. former had been confined to Marseilles, where he was affaffinated at Table. The latter had been remanded to Aha, and, though he received previous Notice of the Defign against him, chose rather to die by the Hands of the Soldiers than create any Disturbance.

In the Course of the next Year POPPEA bore him a Daughter, named CLAUDIA, who, as well as the Mother, was presently dignified with the Title of Augusta. On a leaden Coin, of the smallest Pl. XIX. 14. Size, she is so denominated, CLAVDIA AV-GVSTA; on the Reverse are the Letters TMLD, which I read Titulum Merito Lubens Dedit. His Joy on this Occasion was excessive, Ultra mortale gaudium, says Tacitus, and the public Rejoicings feemed to vie with it. A Temple was erected to Fæcundity. Vows, Oblations, and Supplications, were abundant. But these were succeeded by the Death of the Infant within four Months. This made Room for a new Species of Flattery. Deification, a Temple, Altar, Sacrifices, and Priests, were decreed to this short-lived and diminutive Goddels.

Goddess. The Emperor was inconsolable. At length, to divert his Sorrows, he entertained the People with a great Variety of Spectacles, as Combats of Gladiators, in which many Senators, Equeftrians, and even Women of Figure, entered the Lists; Engagements with wild Beasts, Plays, Pyrrhic Dances, &c.; during the Continuance of which he threw Tickets amongst them, specifying to the Bearers Quantities of Corn, Gold, Silver, Gems, Houses, Lands, &c. to the Amount of a thousand great Sesterces every Day. But now his Passion to display his own Proficiencies grew strong upon him. Yet was he modest enough to make Trial of the public Judgment first at Naples. There he sung to the Multitudes, which flocked together from all Parts, from Morning to Night, scarce allowing himself the necessary Intervals for Rest and Refreshment. Thence he proceeded to Beneventum, as intending for Greece, where he affished at a Shew of Gladiators, exhibited by Vatinius, and whence he iffued Orders for the Death of Torquatus Silanus, the Great Grandson of Augustus, whose sumptuous Manner of Living was his only Crime. His Voyage to Greece was laid afide for the prefent, and he returned to Rome, where he declared his Design of feeing the more distant Provinces, and particularly Egypt. To ensure to himself a prosperous Tour,

he first visited the Temples of the Gods, and in that of Vesta, was struck with such an horrible Dread and Trembling, as induced him to drop the Project entirely. To placate the Goddess, it may be, that he repaired, rebuilt, or adorned her Temple; for fomething of this Sort must have given Occafion to the striking of the Denarius which gives his laureate Head, with NERO CAESAR AVGVSTVS, and shews on the Reverse the Goddess in her Temple, and over it the Word VESTA. He then betook himself to banquetting and nocturnal Revels, in which such Scenes of Lewdness were exhibited as are scarce credible. In one of them, himfelf, in the Habit of a Woman, was publicly married to one of his debauched Crew, named Pythagoras; and at another Time became the Husband of Sporus, another of his abandoned Pathics, whom, by Exfection, he endeavoured to transform into a Woman, and whom he carried about with him dressed and adorned like an Empress.

In the Year of the City DCCCXVI, when Lecanius Bassus and Licinius Crassus Frugi were Consuls, happened the most dreadful Conflagration that Rome had experienced fince the Burning of it by the Gauls. Some Writers impute it to the Cruelty of the Emperor, though he was then at Antium. Certain it is, that many of his Officers pleaded Vol. I.

NERO.

Pl. XIX. 15.

Authority for their Behaviour, when they deterred the People from extinguishing the Flames. It blazed for fix Days together, subsided for a Time, and then broke out afresh, continuing three Days longer. Before it reached the Palace, he returned to Rome, but could not prevent the Destruction of that Edifice. Whether this Imputation be just or not, he laid open the Campus Martius, and his own Gardens, for the Reception of those that were burned out. Tents were every where set up for their better Accommodation. Furniture of all Kinds was brought from Oftia, and the neighbouring Towns, in vast Abundance, and such a Profufion of Corn as rendered that necessary Article very plentiful and cheap. And to this we probably owe the double-stamped Medal in Bronze before us, with his laureate Head, and IMP NERO CAESAR. AVG P MAX TR P'P P. On the Neck are the Letters SPQR. So that this is one of the few Instances of Medals stamped a fecond Time. On the Reverse is a female Figure, standing, with a Cornúcopiæ in her left Hand, and a PATERA, it is prefumed, in her right. That however, and the Legend, have been destroyed by the Injury of Time. It is scarce to be doubted but that the Words were PROVIDENTIA AVGVSTA or AVGVSTI, as the same Figure is not uncommon upon Coins with this

Pl. XIX. 16.

this Title: In the Area S C. Of the fourteen Regions, into which the City had been divided by Augustus, three were entirely confumed, feven had a few scattered Houses left standing here and there, and four only escaped the merciless Devas-The Odium of this terrible Calamity the Emperor endeavoured to throw upon the Christians, already numerous in Rome, against whom commenced a raging Persecution. Great Multitudes of them were put to Death with the most exquisite Tortures. Some were crucified; others wrapped in the Skins of Beafts, and torn in Pieces by Dogs, or plaistered up in pitchy Garments, and set on Fire to illuminate the Night; while himself purfued his Diversions in the Circus with much Unconcern. Whatever Enormities were then imputed to the Christians, they were generally pitied, as not fuffering for any Guilt of their own, but purely to gratify the cruel Disposition of an unfeeling Tyrant.

Out of the Ashes of the old, arose a new City, much more superb and magnificent, for the Evenness and Width of its Streets, the Spaciousness of its Squares in general, the Regularity of its Buildings, and the wise Precautions taken to prevent a like Calamity. But the Palace, which the Emperor erected for himself, exceeds Description. Its Ex-

Pl. XIX, 17.

NERO. tent was incredible. For it is faid by Pliny and Martial to have encompassed the City. The Materials were inestimable. For it was covered in a Manner with Gold and Gems: nor was there wanting any Variety of Hill and Dale, of Wood and Water, Field and Grove, or whatever else could be imagined to render it agreeable. Before the Entrance stood a Colossal Statue of the Emperor, an hundred and twenty Feet high: so that in many Respects it was not improperly called his Golden House. About this Time we presume the Medal to have been struck, which Mr. Addison gives us the Reverse of, exhibiting Rome in her Glory; armed with an Helmet, and fitting on an Heap of Arms, her right Hand resting upon a Shield, whereon is depicted the Wolf giving Suck to Romulus and Remus, and in her left the Hasta pura: In the Area S C; and in the Exergue, ROMA.

NERO was a great Admirer of the Profuseness of his Uncle Califula, which he very exactly copied, as well as his Method of recruiting. Having therefore exhausted the Imperial Treasury, all Italy was ranfacked; the Provinces, the Allies, and the Free Cities, were plundered. Even the Temples of the Gods within the City were stripped of the Gold and Presents which the Devotion of former Ages had laid up in them. But in Afia and Achaia,

not.

Nero.

not only the facred Gifts, but the Statues of the Gods themselves were seized, his two Instruments, Acratus and Secundus Carinas, having his Commission for that Purpose; the former, his Freedman, prompt to any Mischief; the latter, versed in the Greek Literature, but deficient in all good Qualities. About the same Time many Vessels, laden with Corn, were cast away by putting to Sea in bad Weather, being obliged to reach the Port by a stated Day.

The next Year a general Conspiracy, for the Destruction of the Tyrant, was discovered, in which very many Senators, Equestrians, Officers of the Army, and even Women were engaged, either in Detestation of Nero or from Affection to Piso, whose Conspiracy it was called. He was of the Calpurnian Family, very noble, popular, and poffessed of many Qualities which were very like Virtues; for he employed his Eloquence, of which he was a great Master, in Defence of his Fellow-Citizens, was generous to his Friends, and extremely affable and condescending to Strangers. Add, that his Person was tall and comely. But then he had no Gravity of Morals or Parsimony of Pleasure, being foft and magnificent, and fometimes luxurious. It would be foreign to our Design to recount the feveral Persons, their Characters, and Behaviour

haviour in their last Moments; but it may not be amis to observe, that Seneca, whose Substance the Emperor thirsted after, and Lucan the Poet, were of the Number, and suffered, with a Multitude of others, on this Occasion. These Executions being over, he rewarded the Fidelity of his Soldiers with two thousand Denarii to each Man. adding thereto such a Quantity of Corn gratis, as was equal to their usual Consumption. This was the Emperor's Allowance, and is so called on the annexed fine Medal in Bronze, struck by Order of the Senate, which bears his laureated Head, with NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GER PM TR P IMP PP; on the Reverse the Emperor is figured with a Cornucopiæ in his left Hand, and a Sail above him, around ANNONA AVGVSTI. Opposite to him is Ceres seated, with the Hasta pura in her left Hand, and a Patera in her right, with an Altar and Offerings before her, and behind her CERES: In the Exergue, the Sanction of the Senate, S.C. Offerings and Thanksgivings to the Gods were also decreed by the servile Senate, and public Games ordered. The Month of April was to be called the Month of NERO, and a Temple to be erected to SALVS. One of the Consuls even proposed that a Temple should be erected with all Speed at the public Charge, DIVO NERONI, to the

Pl. XIX. 18.

the God Nero. This, by the superstitious Romans, was held ominous; for the Honour of Divinity, says Tacitus, is not ascribed to the Prince till after his Death.

A ridiculous Affair ensued. One Cesellius Bassus, a Carthaginian by Descent, having been conveyed to Rome, and gained Access to the Emperor, told him of immense Treasures in the Ore, laid up in a very deep Cavern upon his Estate in Africa; which he supposed to have been concealed there by the Phænician Dido, lest it should tempt the neighbouring Powers, or corrupt her new Colony. NERO, without Enquiry, took the Discovery for granted, and encouraged the Rumor of it. Meffengers, with fleet Veffels and felect Rowers, were dispatched away to fetch it over. Little else was talked of, and it was cried up as the peculiar Providence of his Reign. In the mean Time, Luxury rioted upon this empty Hope, and a vast Quantity of real Wealth was diffipated upon the Credit of this imaginary Supply; for after much Search to no Purpose, the crazy Discoverer lamented, with Astonishment, that he should be so deceived, for that his Dreams had never failed him before! Thus detected, he put an End to his own Fear and Confusion, as well as to the public Expectation, by a voluntary Death.

The Quinquennial Sports were then exhibiting, and to heal this Disappointment, the Senate offered to prejudge to him the Wreaths of Poetry and Eloquence. But he answered, that "he stood in " no Need of the Favour or Power of the Senate: "that he was a Match for all his Rivals, and " would obtain his Honour from the Impartiality "of the Judges only." He therefore rehearfed his Ode upon the Stage, and then applied himself to the Harp, strictly observing the Laws of it, neither resting when weary, nor wiping off the Sweat but with his Arm, nor spitting, nor blowing his Nose; and lastly, falling upon his Knees, he adored the Croud, and waited with Anxiety the Sentence of the Judges. Prefently after the Sports, died POPPEA, being killed by a Kick which he gave her on the Belly, while pregnant, in the Transport of his Passion. Her Body was not burned, as usual with the Romans, but embalmed, and deposited in the Sepulchre of the Julian Family, and divine Honours were decreed to her. He then offered his Hand to Antonia, the Daughter of his Predecessor, and his Sister by Adoption, who, by declining it, incurred his high Displeasure, and was put to Death, under the Pretence of plotting against him. After this, he married STATILIA MESSALINA, the Widow of Vestinus, with whom he had been familiar

familiar in the Time of her Husband, and who, on one of Goltzius's Coins, is stiled Augusta.

Nero.

Now C. Cassius Longinus, and J. Silanus Torquatus, fell Victims to his Cruelty. His Wealth; and the Gravity of his Morals, made the real Crime of the former; but it was objected to him, that he kept the Statue of C. Cassius, inscribed "To the Leader " of the Party." To the latter was imputed the Affectation of Imperial Grandeur, as formerly to his Uncle, and a forged Charge of Incest with his Aunt, who was the Wife of Cassius. They were both exiled by a Decree of the Senate; but Silanus was afterwards murdered by a Centurion fent for the Purpose. This was followed by the violent Deaths of L. Vetus, his Mother-in-law Sextia, and his Daughter Pollutia. Their Guilt was of a very extraordinary Nature. They were doomed, because their Existence seemed to upbraid him with the Murder of Rubellius Plautus, the Husband of Pollutia. At the same Time a terrible Hurricane laid Waste the whole Campania, and more than thirty thousand Persons died by the Pestilence at Rome. But public Calamities could not foften the Disposition of Nero. Anteius, and the brave Ostorius Scapula, were destroyed, under Pretence of consulting the Astrologers concerning the Fate of the Empire. And presently after perished Mela, Crispinus, Anicius, Vol. I. 3 S

Anicius, and Petronius. About this Time the Jews began to rebel against the Romans.

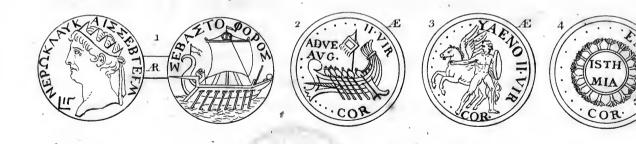
Tiridates now came to Rome, to receive the Crown of Armenia from the Hands of the Emperor, who thought fit to distinguish his Arrival by the Condemnation of the two greatest and best Men in Rome, Soranus and Thrasea, Men of signal Justice and Probity, who could not fanctify bad Meafures by their Approbation; and it was deemed Matter of Favour, that they were permitted by the Senate to chuse their own Way of dying. The Coronation of Tiridates, who was the Brother of Vologeses, the Parthian Monarch, was performed with amazing Pomp and Splendor, and immediately after the Temple of Janus was shut up, as in Times of univerfal Peace. We have this upon a Medal of Bronze, of the first Magnitude, which bears the laureate Head of Nero, with the usual Inscription; and on the Reverse, the Temple of Fanus closed, with PACE Populo Romano TERRA MA-RIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT: In the Area S.C. We have two other Reverses of the same Transaction, wherein the Figure of the Temple differs in some Respect. The first has the same Legend; but the last wants the S.C, and runs thus: PACE P R VBIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT. The whole Fabric of the Temple, according to

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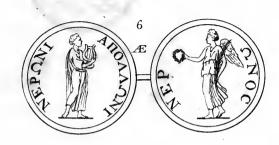
Pl. XIX. 19.

Pl. XIX. 20.

Procopius,



















Procopius, was a Cube of Brass-Work, and of NERO. Height sufficient to receive an entire Statue of Fanus, of the fame Metal, which was five Feet

The Season for the Celebration of the Olympic Games now advancing the Emperor made Preparations for a Voyage to Greece, that he might difplay his Talents amongst that ingenious People. They had already honoured him with the Wreaths usually bestowed on those who excelled in Mufic, and their Deputation had been most graciously received. He fet fail with a vast Army, and a Multitude of other Attendants, and landed in Epirus. His Voyage is celebrated on a very curious Greek Medallion of Silver, which gives his Head with a radiated Crown, and NEPΩ ΚΛΑΥ ΚΑΙΣ ΣΕΒ ΓΕΡΜ LF; on the Reverse is the Prætorian Vessel which carried him, with full Sail and Oars, having the Title of ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΣ, The Bearer of Augustus, or The Imperial Ship. The Corinthians also, a Roman Colony, congratulated his Arrival, by striking the same Vessel on the Reverse of their Coins, with the Names of the Duumviri, which are imperfect in that before us, and COR for Corinthi; and in the Area, ADVEntus AVGusti. The fame is alluded to in the following, which is also in Bronze, by their Bellerophon and Pegasus, with

Pl. XX. r.

Pl. XX. 2.

Pl. XX. 3.

Pl. XX. 4.

with COR underneath; though the Names of the Duumviri are here imperfect also. In the Course of his Peregrination, he contested the Prizes at the Isthmian, Olympic, Actian, and Pythian Games, amongst Stage-Players, Harpers, and Charioteers, and, by Dint of Partiality and Corruption, was every where gratisted with the Palm. The Isthmian we have in the sollowing Medal in Bronze, struck under the same Duumvir as the former, and in the same City of Corinth. It is the Wreath of Parsley, with which the Victors at the Pythian Games were honoured: to which the Poet alludes,

Hæc opera atque bæ sunt generosi Principis artes,
Gaudentis sædo peregrina ad pulpita cantu
Prostitui, Graiæque apium meruisse coronæ.

Juv. Sat. viii.

These are the blest Endowments, Studies, Arts, Which exercise our mighty Emperor's Parts; Such Frolics with his roving Genius suit, On foreign Theatres to prostitute His Voice and Honour, for the poor Renown Of putting all the Grecian Actors down, And winning at a Wake their Parsley-Crown.

and the entire

STEPNEY.

Pl. XX. 5. That of the Thessalonians is of Laurel, inclosing the Word ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ. Others represent him as Apollo, and give him Victories and Crowns, as the following, inscribed ΝΕΡΩΝΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ,

To the Nero Apollo; and the Victory and Wreath is NEPΩNOC, Nero's. Even the Ahatics caught the Infection, and flattered him in the same Manner. For we see the Ereitæ, a People of Lycia, figuring him upon their Coins also as their Apollo, with a Harp in his left Hand, and a Patera in the right, with ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΕΡΕΙΤΩΝ, To the Apollo of the Ereitæ. The Antiochians of Syria gave his Head laureated, with the Litius before him, and an Infcription in the Roman Language, very rare on Greek Coins, IM NER CLAV CAESAR; while the Legend of the Reverse, inclosed in a Wreath of Laurel, is Greek, expressing the Name of their Proconful, and their own Julian Epoch, ΕΠΙ ΓΑΙΟΎ ΚΕΣ-TIOΥ ANTIOXE ΩN ET ΔIP, Under Caius Cestius of the Antiochians, in the Year 114. We must obferve, that this Legend bespeaks itself to have been erroneously copied in the Pembrokian Collection, which further appears from the Description of the Coin in Vaillant's Numismata Imperatorum, p. 14. While at Corinth, he attempted to open the Isthmus. and join the two Seas; but was obliged to defift, finding the Work to be attended with insuperable Difficulties: 1 - 117 1 107 in 110 100

C. Cestius Gallus, the Proconsul of Syria, having been defeated by the Jews, Mucianus was appointed, to succeed him, and Vespasian to command the Army

Pl. XX. 7.

NERO.

Pl. XX. 8.

Army against them. Meantime the Rapine and Cruelty of the Emperor ceased not. The most opulent Greeks were condemned for the Sake of their Effects, and great Numbers of the most eminent Romans, whom he had fent for, or taken with him for that Purpose, were cut off, and Orders instantly dispatched to the Governor of Rome to seize on their Estates; amongst these was Corbulo, the bravest Commander in the Roman Empire. This Governor, who was his Freedman, and whose Difposition suited that of his Master, being invested with absolute Power, made no less Havoc in the City than the other did abroad. This occasioned fuch a Ferment as rendered his Return immediately necessary: So that, after a Year's Abfence, he entered the City in most pompous Triumph. He was carried in the Car of Augustus, attended by one Diodorus, a Master of the Lyre, crowned with an Olympic Wreath, and holding out a Pythian Chaplet in his Hand. Before him marched in solemn Procession a Multitude of Persons richly habited, with Crowns in their Hands, and Inscriptions expressing where and from whom they had been won; all which were placed upon his Statues, when the Procession was over. As this was the only Triumph of his Reign, it may probably have given Occasion for the Medal in Bronze, which prefents us with his laureate Head, furrounded with his usual Titles, NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GER PM TR P IMP P P; with a triumphal Arch and S C on the Reverse. Nor are we to wonder that the Senate, at this Time of Day, should countenance this Prostitution of the Roman Glory. Another, struck by the same Authority, has a Victory on the Reverse, with a Palm-Branch in the left Hand, and a Wreath of Laurel in the right, with the Legend VICTORIA AVGVSTI: In the Area, S C.

N E R O.
Pl. XX. 9.

Pl. XX. 10.

In the next Year, when Silius Italicus the Poet, and Galerius Trachalus Turpilianus, were Confuls, Julius Vindex, the Governor of Celtic Gaul, revolted. He had no Troops, but depended upon the Affections of his Countrymen; for he was of Gallic and Royal Extraction. He opened his Defign to Galba, who then governed in Spain, and urged him to assume the Purple; who after some Demur, the Effect of Prudence or of Fear, declared against Nero. But neither of them could prevail upon Virginius Rufus, who commanded in Upper Germany, to join the Party. On the contrary, he marched into Gaul, and laid close Siege to Vesontio, now Besançon. Vindex, at the Head of his new-raifed Gauls, advanced to its Relief, and had an Interview, in which the two Chiefs came to

fome:

fome Agreement; but Virginius still refused to support Galba: And the Legions from Germany, through Mistake, falling upon the Gauls, when unprepared for Action, Vindex was defeated, and slew himself. Virginius might then, with all Probability of Success, have set up for himself, to which he was strongly invited by the Army. This he not only refused, but declared positively against any and every Person, whom the Senate should not first acknowledge. On the other Side Otho, in Lustania, supported Galba with all his Wealth and Power.

But this Disaffection was not confined to the Continent of Europe; for Clodius Macer, Proprætor of Africa, noted for his Avarice and Cruelty, declared himself also a Candidate for Imperial Power. His Fleet gave him Considence, by which he presumed himself Master of the Sea, threatening Italy with Famine, if any other should be made Choice of. He even struck Coins with his own Head and Name, adding underneath the SC; having on the Reverse a Ship, with PROPRAEtor AFRICa. But his Ambition was short-lived; for he was soon after put to Death by Order of Galba.

Pl. XX. 11.

All this while Nero was in great Agitation, exacting Money, levying Troops, and enlifting even the

the Slaves. Sometimes he thought of destroying himself by Poison, which he provided accordingly; fometimes of flying into Egypt or Parthia; and fometimes of submitting himself to Galba. In the Midst of this Anxiety, his Ruin was suddenly compleated by those on whom he had most Reason to depend. These were Tigellinus and Nymphidius, whom he had promoted to the joint Command of the Prætorian Cohorts. The latter assured the Guards, that the Emperor was fled, and promifed them a most exorbitant Donative in the Name of GALBA, which succeeded. In the Night, therefore, finding his Guards withdrawn, he left the Palace in order to conceal himself in the Villa of Phaon, one of his Freedmen. Passing the Prætorian Camp, he heard the Acclamations of the Soldiers in Favour of GALBA. The next Day, his Flight being known, GALBA was acknowledged Emperor by the Senate, and the miserable Nero doomed to a cruel Death. But he prevented the Execution of the Sentence, by putting an End, with much Irrefolution, and the Assistance of his Secretary, to his own Life.

He was of proper Stature, but his Body was fubject to Pimples and Blotches: his Hair fandy, and
he wore it curled in Ringlets: his Face more fair
than comely: his Eyes grey and heavy: his Neck
Vol. I. 3 T fat:

fat: his Belly prominent: and his Legs slender. But he was very healthy, notwithstanding his immoderate Luxury. He was certainly a Master of Music, had an easy poetical Vein, and no mean Skill in Painting and Defigning. Indeed all the Julian Family, which ended in him, were versed in the polite Arts, and Men of admirable Eloquence, Talents which would have covered many Failings; but of the four last it may be truly said, that they were Monsters in Iniquity, and irredeemably plunged in Vice of every Kind. In the Beginning of his Reign, he made a Shew of great Good-nature, and an Aversion to Blood, of which we have a noble Instance, when, being desired to subscribe an Order for the Execution of one condemned, he cried out, "O that I had never learned to write!" His Wilfulness, Lust, Luxury, Avarice, and Cruelty, he exercifed at first by slow Degrees, and privately; yet it was not questioned then but that they were the Vices of his Nature, not his Age. And asthese grew up with him, he disdained all Privacy and Reputation. He deflowered a Vestal, named Rubria: but the Feats of Lust recorded of him are too vile to be repeated. He wore no Robe twice; never travelled with fewer than a thousand Carriages, his Mules being shod with Silver, his Muleteers richly cloathed, and his Horsemen magnificently

cently adorned. On the Defection of Vindex, he is believed to have intended dreadful Mischiefs, even the Destruction of all the Governors of Provinces, and of all in the City who were of Gallic Assinity or Attachment; to give up all Gaul to be sacked by the Armies; to poison the whole Senate at Entertainments; to set fire to the City, and to let out the wild Beasts to prevent the Extinction of it. He was, in fine, a Composition of Lust and Pride, Extravagance and Cruelty. He died in the thirty-second Year of his Age, on the same Day whereon he had put his Wise Octavia to Death, after having reigned thirteen Years and eight Months, and taken the Title of Consul four Times.



END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

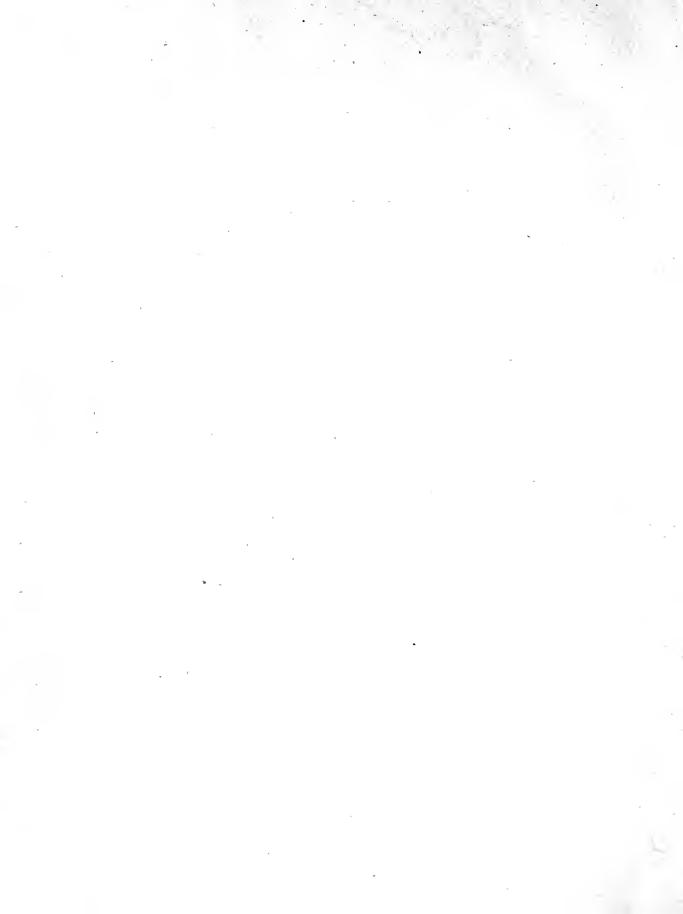
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centify adorned. On the Defedion of Fincipy he is believed to have intended Areadhil (160) it has even the Defending of all the Gevernors of Precinces, and of all in the City who were of Gellic Affects of Attrehement; to give up all (161) to be in its in the injuries in the policy of the continuation of the first out in the wild Beals to prevent the Latingian of it. He is wild Beals to prevent the Latingian of it. He is a correct or infured the first out in the ridde, in the continuation of the individual the lating and the first out in the third of the individual first of the individual him in the third in the third feel of the individual him in the lating whereone in the individual him in the lating the lating of lating of the lating of the lating of lating of



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